

THE JUDAIZING FACTION AT CORINTH

FRANK HAMILTON MARSHALL, PH. D.,
Dean, College of the Bible, and Professor of Biblical and
Patristic Greek Language and Literature, Phillips University.

W. DRUGULIN, LEIPZIG (GERMANY)

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FRANK HAMILTON MARSHALL

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FRANK HAMILTON MARSHALL

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PART I
THE TRANSITION AND EXPANSION FROM
JEWISH TO GENTILE CHRISTIANITY

CHAPTER I

THE GOSPEL AS A NEW JUDAISM FOR PALESTINE.

The antecedents of the Christian Church were Jewish. It originated in Palestine. The history of Judaism forms its background. Its Bible was Jewish; the sacred Scriptures that moulded the religious life and thought of those who constituted the early Church were the Law and the prophets. Its founder, Jesus of Nazareth, was a Jew. He was born in Palestine, and lived and died in the land of his birth. His knowledge of the world was largely circumscribed by the geographical boundaries of his country. He was taught the rudiments of learning in the synagogue. His religion was that of his people; he was circumcised,¹ took part in the worship of the synagogues,² and kept the Sabbath and Jewish feasts.³ Nothing in his recorded teachings gives evidence that he was acquainted with the religious life and literature of the great nations of his day: of Egypt, Rome, Greece and the Orient. Nor does it appear, either in his private life or public teaching, that he contemplated the abolition of the Jewish ritual law.⁴ His life work embraced no mission to the Gentiles. He said:⁵ *Οὐκ ἀπεστάλην εἰ μὴ εἰς τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰσραὴλ*. Hence, his disciples were all Jewish. Not even proselytes were numbered among his personal followers. The apostles and the few hundred disciples he left behind him were all reared in Palestine. On the day of Pentecost after the crucifixion of Jesus, one hundred

¹ Luke 2 21.

² Ibid. 4 16.

³ Ibid. 22 7-13.

⁴ Matt. 5 17-19.

⁵ Ibid. 15 24. Cf. Mk. 7 24-30.

and twenty disciples and three thousand converts constituted the first Christian church⁶. The converts had come from the various provinces of the Roman empire, but without exception they were Jews⁷. The church began its career in Jerusalem, under the shadow of the Jewish temple.⁸

But it was a progressive movement in Judaism that had arisen with John the Baptist and Jesus in Palestine. The primitive church at Jerusalem retained connection with Judaism. The Jews did not regard the Christians as apostates since they did not assume an aggressive attitude nor lay themselves open to the charge of violating the Jewish law. However, while the disciples did not as yet wear a distinctive name, they differed from their Jewish brethren in believing that the Messiah had already come. They declared openly:⁹ *ὅτι καὶ κύριον αὐτὸν καὶ Χριστὸν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς, τοῦτον τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐσταυρώσατε*. They not only insisted that the Messiah had come, but that he would soon come again, to restore the kingdom.¹⁰ They were therefore citizens, not of the present age, but of the glorious era soon to be inaugurated. Many of them shared their possessions with the poor disciples from a quickened sense of brotherhood.¹¹ The fact that their Messiah had come did not affect greatly their attitude toward the Jewish ritual. Jesus had not instructed them to cease observing it. They therefore continued their daily worship in the temple.¹²

But they were different from many of the Jews in regard to the traditions of the fathers. Jesus had taught them not to follow the example of the scribes and Pharisees, who emphasized the ceremonial in worship and neglected the ethical.¹³ He taught that God desires mercy rather than sacrifice,¹⁴ and that clean hearts are essential and not clean hands.¹⁵ While such teaching tended to emancipate the moral from the ceremonial, its effect on the primitive church was not to cause indifference to the Jewish law.¹⁶ They continued to read the same Bible as their Jewish brethren. And they read in it the

⁶ Acts 1 15.

⁷ Ibid. 2 5-11.

⁸ Ibid. 2 46.

⁹ Ibid. 2 36.

¹⁰ Ibid. 3 20, 21.

¹¹ Ibid. 2 45.

¹² Ibid. 2 46, 31.

¹³ Matt. 23 2-36.

¹⁴ Ibid. 9 13.

¹⁵ Ibid. 15 19, 20.

¹⁶ Ibid. 21 20.

prophecies of the coming Messiah and the establishment of his earthly reign in a different light from before, since some of the prophecies had just been fulfilled,¹⁷ and they were awaiting the speedy fulfillment of the others.¹⁸ And there grew up along side of this Old Testament, gradually, a body of gospel tradition which was ultimately placed on a par with their authoritative Scriptures. The disciples were guided by the same spirit of God that inspired Moses and the prophets. But in a new sense they realized his abiding presence and activity. They believed that God was now giving his spirit to all;¹⁹ and that certain favored ones, filled with the spirit, were able to perform many signs and wonders and mighty works.²⁰ They still attended the regular Jewish services in the synagogues. They also met as Christians for religious worship and fellowship,²¹ taking food together in a way that made it no ordinary meal,²² eating the Lord's Supper in grateful remembrance of Jesus. They practiced baptism,²³ as did John the Baptist²⁴ and the Essene community,²⁵ but the baptism of the disciples was made in the name of Jesus Christ.²⁶

We have, in the primitive church, a new Judaism for Palestine. The Christians did not separate from the Jews voluntarily. The death of the Apostle James²⁷ and the persecutions that followed were steps toward division. The first Christians in Palestine had no thought of establishing a community separate from Judaism. Their ambition, their hope, was to be the true "remnant of Israel" found faithful at the final consummation of God's plans.

¹⁷ Matt. 1 16-20; 2 16-21, 25-28, 34, 35; 3 22-24.

¹⁸ Ibid. 3 20, 21, 25.

¹⁹ Acts 2 16-21, 38, 39.

²⁰ Ibid. 2 43.

²¹ Ibid. 2 42.

²² Ibid. 2 46.

²³ Ibid. 2 41.

²⁴ Matt. 3 5, 6.

²⁵ Josephus, Bell. Jud. Bk. 2 viii.

²⁶ Acts 2 38; 8 16.

²⁷ Ibid. 12 2.

CHAPTER II

THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE GENTILES.

For years the primitive church did not include the Gentiles in its limits of gospel effort.¹ The forces contributing to the spread of Christianity to others than the Jews were not yet developed. The church numbered among its members many of the Diaspora.² Owing to their environment, they had broader sympathies and more tolerant views than their brethren at Jerusalem. This element affected profoundly the policy of the church, and disturbed not a little the harmony that had existed. Friction soon arose between the two elements, occasioned by the distribution of food to the poor members,³ with the result that the church appointed seven men to relieve the apostles of this part of the administration.⁴ Prominent among those seven was Stephen,⁵ a Hellenist of broad sympathies for the Gentiles and of liberal tendencies toward the Jewish ritual law. He believed that the gospel was not to be bound by Jewish limitations. Soon this aggressive leader aroused the antagonism of certain Jews in the synagogues, who vainly attempted to refute him. Then, according to Luke, they accused him before the council of speaking words against the holy place and the Law, saying Jesus would change the customs of Moses.⁷ The result was, Stephen suffered martyrdom,⁸ a great persecution of the Christians began, and the disciples were scattered over Judea,⁹ Samaria⁹, and even as far as Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Antioch¹⁰. Wherever they went, they preached the gospel, but only to the Jews.¹⁰ Then Peter, on

¹ Acts 11 19.

² Ibid. 2 5-11.

³ Ibid. 6 1-2.

⁴ Ibid. 6 2-6.

⁵ Ibid. 6 8.

⁶ Ibid. 6 9, 10.

⁷ Ibid. 6 11-14.

⁸ Ibid. 7 57-60.

⁹ Ibid. 8 1.

¹⁰ Ibid. 11 19.

an evangelistic tour, went to Caesarea, and there baptized a Roman centurion named Cornelius.¹¹ Peter had become convinced that the man was worthy of Christian fellowship,¹² so he not only baptized him but remained with him in his home several days on terms of friendly intimacy¹³. In his report to the church at Jerusalem Peter won their approval for baptizing Cornelius.¹⁴ This at once raised the question of admitting Gentiles into the church. The Jews of the Diaspora had frequently received certain Gentiles as adherents who had joined with them in worship in the synagogues.¹⁵ These adherents regarded their new brethren as a sort of superior people, commissioned to teach them religion. No doubt the Jerusalem Christians regarded Cornelius and his household as proselytes. Some of the members reproved Peter for eating with Cornelius.¹⁶ That was an open violation of the Levitical food laws. The prejudices of many Jerusalem Christians were altogether too strong for that. The subsequent incident at Antioch¹⁷ proves that such a course was approved neither by James, who admitted, nor by those who denied, the legitimacy of Gentile conversions. Peter seems thereafter not to have repeated it. The question about Cornelius' relation to the Jewish ritual law was left unsettled. Being an exceptional case, it did not, according to Luke, bring the issue into prominence.

Meanwhile, among the disciples who had fled to Antioch from Jerusalem, were natives of Cyprus and Cyrene, who, upon their arrival preached the gospel to the Gentiles.¹⁸ Their efforts were rewarded with great success. Many Gentiles became Christians.¹⁹ Here was founded the first Gentile Christian Church. It rapidly rose to importance, and was for many years the most influential church among the Gentiles. The founders, being Hellenists, shared the views of Stephen in regard to the Jewish ritual law, and adopted a policy which would have been impossible in Palestine, — they did not enforce that law upon the Gentile Christians. The effects of his policy were

¹¹ Acts 10 47, 48. ¹² Ibid. 10 34. ¹³ Ibid. 10 48. ¹⁴ Ibid. 11 18.

¹⁵ Ibid. 13 43, 50; 16 14. ¹⁶ Ibid. 11 2, 3. ¹⁷ Gal. 2 11 ff.

¹⁸ Acts 11 20. ¹⁹ Ibid. 11 21.

far reaching in their consequences. A movement had been launched whose success was to surpass that of the mother church at Jerusalem. The founders of the church at Antioch preached the gospel as independent of the Jewish ritual law, and admitted both Jews and Gentiles to Christian fellowship on equal terms. Circumcision and the Levitical food laws were found to be serious barriers to the success of the work among the Gentiles. No doubt it was after many experiments and careful deliberation that the Antioch missionaries decided that observance of these Jewish requirements should neither be a test for entering the church nor for approved conduct within the church. Jew and Gentile ate together and worshipped together, bound by the common faith and fellowship in Jesus Christ. Some time passed before official notice by the Jerusalem church was taken of this departure from the authorized customs. Barnabas was then appointed to go to Antioch to investigate.²⁰ Barnabas was a Hellenist,²¹ and a man of high character and influence.²² When he saw the situation, he approved it.²³ Far from restraining the disciples in their new found freedom from the ritual law, he so sympathized with them that he himself entered heartily upon the work.²⁴

Meanwhile another great leader had been working in Syria and Cilicia,²⁵ who was destined to champion the cause of Gentile Christianity. That leader was Paul. Like Stephen, he was a Hellenist.²⁶ He had been brought up at Tarsus of Cilicia, and had received a scribal education at Jerusalem.²⁶ Later he became a violent persecutor of the Christians.²⁷ His zeal for strict scribal Judaism knew no bounds. He was conscientious,²⁸ intensely religious, a man of strong convictions. He was zealous for the traditions of the fathers, and lived as a Pharisee.²⁹ At some time within the period from 30 to 35 A. D. within a few months after the martyrdom of Stephen, Paul, who was present and approved of his death,³⁰ became a Christian.³¹ His reaction from the extreme position of

²⁰ Acts 11 22.²¹ Ibid. 4 36.²² Ibid. 4 37; 11 24.²³ Ibid. 11 28.²⁴ Ibid. 11 26.²⁵ Gal. 1 21.²⁶ Acts 22 3.²⁷ Ibid. 22 4, 5.²⁸ Ibid. 23 4.²⁹ Ibid. 23 6.³⁰ Ibid. 8 1.³¹ Ibid. 9 7-19.

Pharisaism forced him to abandon the strict observance of the ritual law, especially in its relation to Gentiles, with the result that he failed to gain the confidence of the churches in Palestine.³² He therefore went to Tarsus whence he was called by Barnabas to assist in the work at Antioch. Great success attended his efforts at Antioch.³³ Many Gentiles became Christians without circumcision and its attendant obligations to the ceremonial law. The result was far-reaching. A *new* religious movement had been established, distinct from Judaism, and free from the requirements of Jewish ritual. Recognition of the detachment of Christianity from Judaism was made in the rise of a new name, "Christian". It was in Antioch that the disciples first received this name³³.

³² Acts 9 26.

³³ Ibid. 11 25, 26.

CHAPTER III

THE FREEING OF THE GENTILE CHRISTIANS FROM JEWISH RITUAL LAW.

The freedom of the Gentile Christians from the Jewish ritual law was a foregone conclusion, if Christianity was to become anything more than a sect of the Jews. The trend of thought among the Hellenistic Jews in general contributed to help secure this freedom. Josephus, for example, knew many Hellenistic Jews who held that circumcision, Sabbath keeping, and in short the entire ceremonial law was non-essential.¹ The admission of uncircumcised Gentiles to Jewish fellowship had already been practiced by Hellenistic Jews.² The tendency away from particularism found expression in the Christian community at Antioch. The result was a type of Christianity less Judaic than that at Jerusalem, by its universalistic characteristics made attractive to Gentiles,³ who believed in Jesus as the Messiah, and sought membership in the Kingdom of God, but without desiring to submit themselves to the Jewish ritual law. Paul and Barnabas learned on their first missionary journey that the Jews as a body were adverse to Christianity,⁴ and that the Gentiles, while responsive to the gospel mission, would not become Jews in order to become Christians.⁵ Paul preached redemption through Jesus Christ and taught that the Gentiles need not be circumcised nor otherwise keep the ritual law of Judaism.⁶ He honored the mother church at Jerusalem, but made it plain that her limitations and restricted

¹ Schürer, *Jews in Time of Jesus*, 2 s; pp. 313, 314. Ex. Josephus *Antiq.* 20 2, 5. ² McGiffert, *The Apostolic Age*, p. 160. Josephus, *Ant.* 14 7, 2. ³ Acts 12 20, 21. ⁴ *Ibid* 13 44, 45. 14 2, 19. ⁵ *Ibid*. 13 47-49. ⁶ *Ibid* 15 1, 2.

view of Christianity could not be imposed upon the Gentile world.⁷ The church at Jerusalem and the other Palestinian churches adhered rigidly to the observance of the ritual law.

About 47 A. D. the element in the Jerusalem church that was most strongly opposed to gentile Christianity sent, according to Luke, emissaries to Antioch for the purpose of checking the new movement in violation of the ritual law. They insisted that no uncircumcised person could be saved⁸. The Christian leaders at Antioch, foremost among them Paul and Barnabas, knew that Gentiles could not be forced to observe the ritual law, and the issue was earnestly discussed.⁹ The matter had to be settled. Disagreement with the Jewish Christian church at Jerusalem had been forced upon the church at Antioch. Division was inevitable unless an agreement could be reached on the conditions of membership for the Gentiles. The church, therefore, appointed Paul, Barnabas, and some others to go to Jerusalem, and to confer with the apostles and elders. When this conference was held, three distinct tendencies were represented: there was the Judaistic Christian tendency, occupying the extreme position, demanding of everyone conformity to the whole law as a condition of salvation.¹⁰ Paul calls them *ψευδο-αδελφους, οἵτινες παρεισήλθον κατασκοπεῖσαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν*.¹¹ Again, there was the Jewish Christian tendency, represented by those who, while adhering to the whole law, were less extreme in their views than their Judaistic brethren.¹² They insisted that all Jews should keep the law, but it is clear that they were not insistent on this point as respects the Gentiles. They were not Pharisaic in type; their leaders, the apostles, had imbibed much of the spirit of Jesus, who had emphasized the ethical rather than the ceremonial in his teaching. Then there was the Gentile Christian tendency, represented by the delegates from Antioch, who held that the Jewish ritual law was not to be insisted on for Gentiles.¹³ Paul and his associates made an effort in the conference to effect an adjustment, by which division could be avoided, and

⁷ Acts 15 2-4, 6. Gal. 2 3-5.

⁸ Ibid. 15 1.

⁹ Ibid. 15 2.

¹⁰ Ibid. 15 5, 24. ¹¹ Gal. 2 4.

¹² Acts 15 7-29.

¹³ Ibid. 15 2-4.

at the same time the freedom of the Gentile Christians from observing the ritual law of the Jews be guaranteed.¹⁴ We have two different accounts of this conference, one in Acts 15 1-29, the other in Gal. 2 1-10. It seems that the Judaistic element insisted that Paul yield this freedom he was seeking for the Gentiles. This the apostle refused to do. He knew from experience that the demands of the Judaizers were utterly impracticable. He was sure of his ground; he was, in fact, right if Christianity was to become a universal religion. James, Peter, and John who were leaders of the church at Jerusalem then did the only thing possible under the circumstances — they made an agreement with Paul and Barnabas, conceding Paul's principle for the Gentiles, each recognizing the other's work. Paul and Barnabas were to go unhampered in their chosen work to the Gentiles, and the other apostles to the circumcision. Gentile Christianity was thus recognized by the apostles. Paul and Barnabas were given the right hand of fellowship.¹⁵ This fellowship was more than personal recognition; it involved mutual interest and sympathy in the work. Paul was to evangelize the Gentiles without requiring Gentile Christians to be circumcised, while the Jerusalem apostles were to maintain the whole law.

The success which Gentile Christianity had already achieved made it possible for Paul to secure this concession at Jerusalem. The growing work had become so important that it could not be ignored. The Judaistic element, meanwhile, though failing to accomplish its purpose, was still firmly opposed to Gentile Christianity.

By the understanding reached at Jerusalem between Paul and the original apostles, the problem of Gentile Christianity was partly solved. James, Peter, and John requested Paul to send alms from the Gentile churches to the poor Jewish Christians at Jerusalem. This Paul gladly consented to do.¹⁶ Such assistance from the Gentiles would make the Jerusalem Christians feel more favorably disposed toward them, and might further the cause of union. And, so long as the two

¹⁴ Gal. 2 1-10.

¹⁵ Ibid. 2 7-9.

¹⁶ Ibid. 2 10.

fields lay wholly apart, no foreseen occasion of friction would arise. But the real problem was, how to get the Jewish and Gentile Christians to recognize each other as brethren and work together in the same community. Under the limits of the Jerusalem agreement separating the two bodies, this was still impossible.

CHAPTER IV

THE JEWISH CHRISTIANS WHO WOULD NOT CONCEDE FREEDOM FROM THE RITUAL LAW TO THE GENTILES.

The Judaistic Christian tendency among the Christians at Jerusalem had been silenced at the conference, but not suppressed. From it there arose continuous and persistent opposition to the apostle Paul and to the cause of Gentile Christianity, of which he was the foremost missionary. An opportunity to manifest this opposition soon arrived.

In the church at Antioch Jews and Gentiles worshipped and ate together as Christian brethren. With them the ritual law was not an issue. The Jewish Christians did not allow the Levitical law on clean and unclean food to bar them from social fellowship with the Gentile Christians. From Paul's viewpoint the situation was satisfactory. The gospel had removed the social barrier between Jewish and Gentile Christians. The apostle Peter came up from Jerusalem to Antioch, perhaps to investigate the condition of the church. Falling in with the custom established there he joined with the Gentile Christians who did not conform to the Jewish ritual prescriptions.¹ The eating together of Jews and Gentiles in the same church was an essential matter which the concordat at Jerusalem had not included. Had there been any Gentile Christians at Jerusalem, Peter would probably not have eaten with them; fundamentally he held with James and John. But Peter could adjust himself to exceptional cases, as he had already done in the case of Cornelius. He was impulsive and friendly; it was natural that he should have entered into table

¹ Gal. 2 11-12.

fellowship at Antioch notwithstanding the conservative conduct of the Jerusalem church, and of himself while there.

No trouble arose until emissaries from James at Jerusalem arrived when Peter withdrew from eating with the Gentile Christians.² The Jewish Christians there did the same, including Barnabas.³ The division of Jewish and Gentile Christians was now complete. Paul was perhaps absent at the time, returning after the division had been accomplished. His feeling was intense, because the success of his evangelistic work was threatened. He called the church together and administered a severe rebuke to Peter.⁴ Paul thus recounts the occurrence: *Εἰ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ὑπάρχων ἔθνικῶς καὶ οὐκ Ἰουδαϊκῶς ἦς, πῶς τὰ ἔθνη ἀναγκάζεις Ἰουδαΐζειν;*⁴ From Paul's point of view, Peter had committed a double offense—inconsistency, and violation of the agreement. Peter's inconsistency was that after eating with the Gentile Christians at Antioch, he changed his attitude and would no longer do so. This made it incumbent upon the Gentile Christians to keep the Jewish ritual law, or to fail of fraternizing with the Jewish Christians. But how, we may ask, did Peter try ἀναγκάζειν the Gentiles to keep the law? He probably did not explicitly so teach, but his conduct involved it. The Gentile Christians were כְּחֵטְא for lack of circumcision, and of keeping the food laws.⁵ Had he refused at first to eat with the Gentiles, it would have hurt Paul's cause. But after doing so, and winning their confidence his subsequent withdrawal made the situation more serious.

Respecting Peter's action it is to be remembered that great pressure had been brought to bear upon him from the head of the Jewish Christian Church. The protest of the Jerusalem Christians came directly from James.⁶ The conference at Jerusalem had settled that Gentile Christians need not be circumcised, but had not even discussed — much less settled — whether Jewish and Gentile Christians should eat together. Jewish Christians were therefore under obligation, James and the Jerusalem church held, to maintain the ritual law and to abstain from eating with any and all who refused to

² Gal. 2 12.

³ Ibid. 2 13.

⁴ Ibid 2 14.

⁵ Lev. 11.

⁶ Gal. 2 12.

do so. Therefore delegates were sent to Antioch, not to confer on this matter, but to insist on Jewish regularity. The pressure of Jerusalem upon the Jewish Christians of Antioch must indeed have been very great. *καὶ συνυπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ (Peter) καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, ὥστε καὶ Βαρνάβας συναπήχθη αὐτῶν τῇ ὑποκρίσει.*⁷ It is also to be remembered that Peter's eating with the Gentiles was for him the exceptional thing, not his later refusing to eat. It was not want of character that made Peter yield; rather, since his work was to be among Jews, he must not destroy his influence with them. He could not live like Paul and preach to the Jews.

Paul, on the other hand, boldly defended the principles of the gospel which he had found needful in his own mission. He demanded that the Jews should so far yield their adherence to the ritual law as to admit of full fellowship with Gentile Christians. Otherwise the Palestinian churches and the Pauline churches became distinct divisions of the Christian movement. Paul had little to do with the apostles at Jerusalem or with the Palestinian churches; and they in turn had little to do with the Gentile churches. Paul doubtless failed to carry the Antioch church with him, even after the pressure from Jerusalem had been removed, although the Antioch Christians were mainly Gentiles and belonged to the Pauline field.

⁷ Gal. 2 13.

CHAPTER V

THE OPPOSITION OF THE JUDAIZERS TO PAUL IN THE GALATIAN CHURCHES.

After the first missionary tour, and the working out of the two main principles of the Gentile mission — the first at Jerusalem, the second at Antioch — Paul went forth again for further evangelization. This was his second missionary tour, on which he aimed to confirm the churches he had already established, and to plant new ones farther west. The difficulties were great, as he had to face the bitter opposition of the Jewish synagogues, besides confronting the many obstacles of the Graeco-Roman world. But his labors now were to be increased by the hostile activities of the Judaizing Christians.

Previous to the conflict at Antioch, Paul's visits to the cities of Galatia had resulted in the founding of four enthusiastic churches.¹ The people were full of faith and cherished a strong feeling of loyalty and love for him. But suddenly a great change took place. Their relations with Paul became strained. Their enthusiasm for him waned.² Emissaries from Jerusalem had arrived. Their argument was a strong one: Jesus himself, the promised Messiah, was a Jew. His blessings were for Jews only. To this the covenants with Abraham and Moses bore witness. The essential prescriptions of the law were still in force. Jesus had observed them, and all his apostles were still obeying them. Therefore they attacked Paul. They claimed he was

¹ Acts 13 13 — 14 26.

² The writer accepts the theory that Paul's letter to the Galatians was addressed to the four churches at Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch of Pisidia. This theory has been ably defended by Ramsay, Bacon, Burton, Zahn, McGiffert and others. The theory favoring churches in North Galatia is advocated by Moffatt, von Dobschütz, Schürer, and others.

not a true apostle. He had never even seen Christ, much less had he received from him such a high commission. Paul's gospel was only human. He was really a false teacher of the gospel, who had led them astray. They impugned Paul's honesty. They asserted that he preached circumcision to Jews and uncircumcision to the Gentiles; it was with him anything to win a following — he was trying to please men.³

These Judaizing Christian emissaries had considerable success in their efforts. The Galatians had listened to them and were in danger of apostasy from Paul's free gospel. They were on the point of yielding to the determined efforts, authoritative injunctions, and specious arguments of the new missionaries. Gentile Christians in the Galatian churches had many of them first come to acquaintance with their new religion through the Jewish synagogues. Paul himself had appealed to the Old Testament prophecies, and so did his adversaries. It was hard for these Galatian Christians to understand Paul's principle of grace, but easy to understand the simple plea for the law. So they were in danger of turning against their father in the gospel, to give heed to the new preachers, Paul's opponents. But the situation was not beyond remedy. Paul was far away in Greece or Syria, preaching the gospel. When information reached him concerning the situation, he wrote to his converts a forceful, convincing letter, appealing to them to stand fast in the gospel as he had taught it to them: *Θαυμάζω ὅτι οὕτως ταχέως μετατίθεσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν χάριτι Χριστοῦ εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον, ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο.*⁴ There is no tone of compromise or conciliation in his letter: *εἰ τις ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελίζεται παρ' ὃ παρελάβετε, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.*⁵ Again he says: *ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ ἡμεῖς ἢ ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εὐαγγελίσηται ὑμῖν παρ' ὃ παρελάβετε, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.*⁶

He is indefinite in his reference to his opponents, but he understood them. He had met them on two occasions before; and he knew what they preached. They had taught that

³ The Judaizing argument in the above paragraph is reconstructed from Paul's replies found in his letters to the Galatians and Corinthians.

⁴ Gal. 1 c, 7.

⁵ Ibid. 1 c.

⁶ Ibid. 1 s.

except the Gentiles be circumcised, they could not be saved.⁷ They had prescribed special days and feasts.⁸ He writes: *ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθε καὶ μῆνας καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἐνιαυτούς.*⁸ He tells the Galatians that if they are depending upon the observance of the whole law to secure their salvation, they must render a complete obedience to it. *Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει πᾶσιν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτά.*⁹ If they are circumcised, they are obligated to keep the entire law, and will receive no benefit from Christ. *Ἴδε ἐγὼ Παῦλος λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐὰν περιτέμνησθε Χριστὸς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ὠφελήσει. μαρτύρομαι δὲ πάλιν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ περιτεμνομένῳ ὅτι ὀφειλέτης ἐστὶν ὅλον τὸν νόμον ποιῆσαι.*¹⁰

Paul assigned to his opponents another motive for preaching circumcision: to avoid persecution. The circumcised Christians were received into the Jewish fold and shared the privileges of the chosen nation. Paul, then, or anyone who would hinder such an advantageous move, could only be their enemy, charged the Judaizers.¹¹

But to win a complete victory in Paul's territory, they must destroy his influence. They placed the Apostle on the defensive to maintain his right to his high office. They held that he should subject himself to the Jerusalem apostles and preach the gospel as they preached it: that he was acting against the constituted authority of the whole Christian movement when he gave the gospel to the Gentiles free from circumcision and food prescriptions.

Serious charges, these. The accusers were apparently accredited representatives of the leading apostles and the mother church, at Jerusalem. The situation for Paul was critical; his churches might be misled, and his reputation was at stake. In his reply no attempt is made to conciliate his opponents. On the contrary, he makes plain their motives, and writes in unsparing terms of condemnation. His opening words are a strong statement of his authority as an apostle: *Παῦλος ἀπόστολος, οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου ἀλλὰ διὰ*

⁷ Gal. 2:3 cf. Acts 15:1.
the Sept. of Deut. 27:26.

⁸ Gal. 4:10.

⁹ Ibid. 3:10, quoting freely

¹⁰ Ibid. 5:2, 3.

¹¹ Ibid. 4:16, 17.

Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν.¹² Then, after pronouncing anathemas upon his opponents, he defends his gospel declaring that he received nothing from the apostles at Jerusalem but δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.¹³ He recounts vividly his divine call and commission to the Gentiles; his experiences with the apostles, and ψευδάδελφοι at Jerusalem and Antioch, maintaining that if they are still justified by law, ἄρα Χριστὸς ὥρεάν ἀπέθανεν.¹⁴ He then hurls back at his opponents the same unworthy motives they had attributed to him.

The Judaizers had actually gained a few proselytes and others were observing holy days.¹⁵ A general yielding to the Judaizing gospel threatened. Paul was in distress over his spiritual children, and wrote: οὐς πάλιν ὠδίνω μέχρις οὗ μορφωθῇ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν.¹⁶ Hope and fear are manifest throughout the epistle. That he finally succeeded in restoring his supremacy is certain.¹⁷ These churches afterward responded heartily to his call for the collection. Timothy¹⁸ of Lystra became his most trusted helper, and certain Galatians accompanied Paul on his final journey to Jerusalem.¹⁹

¹² Gal. 1 1.¹³ Ibid. 1 12.¹⁴ Ibid. 2 21.¹⁵ Ibid. 4 10; 6 12.¹⁶ Ibid. 4 19.¹⁷ Acts 18 28.¹⁸ Ibid. 16 1.¹⁹ Ibid. 20 4.

PART II

JEWISH AND GENTILE CHRISTIANITY IN CORINTH.

CHAPTER VI

JEWS AND GENTILES IN THE CORINTHIAN CHURCH.

A knowledge of Paul's previous experiences with the Judaizing Christians at Jerusalem, at Antioch, and in the Galatian churches contributes much to an understanding of the complex situation at Corinth. When Paul was making his second missionary tour, he sailed from Troas and crossed over into Europe, landing at Neapolis.¹ After preaching the gospel in various cities, including Philippi, Thessalonica, and Athens, he came to Corinth.² This was, at that time, the most important city of Greece. The former Greek city of Corinth had been destroyed in the year 146 B. C. by the Roman army under the consul Achaicus.³ A hundred years later Julius Caesar rebuilt the city for military purposes, colonizing it not with Greeks, but with Italians — freedmen and soldiers of Caesar's army.⁴ At first the Greeks avoided the city. But by Paul's time Corinth had again become a Greek metropolis, the capital and chief commercial city of the whole province of Achaia. The descendants of the Italian colonists had become Hellenized. The favorable location caused the new Corinth to grow rapidly, so that it soon recovered the business and prestige of the earlier period.⁵ Corinth was cosmopolitan in character. It was the natural meeting place of the East and the West.⁶ In addition to the Greeks and Italians already mentioned, the population

¹ Acts 16 11. ² Ibid. 16 12—18 1. ³ Homer called it ἀφρευόν τε Κόρινθον II. 2 570. Cicero called it *totius Graeciae lumen*. Pro lege Manil. 5.

⁴ Robertson and Plummer, 1 Cor. p. xi. ⁵ Robertson and Plummer, 1 Cor. xii. ⁶ Eusebius, H. E. 4 22.

had been increased by a large oriental element that had overflowed into Achaia. Cenchreae, the eastern port, was even more Asiatic than European. Among the orientals at Corinth were many Jews, who in that period located in considerable numbers at the great commercial centres of the Mediterranean world. The edict of the emperor Claudius, expelling all Jews from Rome, no doubt increased appreciably the Jewish population at Corinth.⁷ The cosmopolitan character of the city was evident, not only from the representatives of the different nationalities living there, but also from the religions. There were temples of the Hellenistic cults, a temple of the Aphrodite Pandemos, whose worship had been imported from Phoenicia, and a Jewish synagogue. The moral standards of the city were very low, as contemporaneous literature well attests.⁸

Corinth, the metropolis and the capital of the Roman province of Achaia, the chief city of Greece in commercial activity, political importance and population, attracted the apostle Paul. Here were excellent material and opportunity for a large, strong, influential church, which would become a great stronghold and centre of the Christian movement. Hither came people from every part of the Roman Empire. The gospel preached at Corinth would be carried by those who heard it to the various provinces from which they came. Paul, therefore, with good reason selected Corinth as the field for some of his most active missionary labors. Following a visit to Athens, Paul came to Corinth. He entered upon the gospel mission there with some timidity and apprehension, because it was the largest and most difficult work he had undertaken. He lodged with Aquila and Priscilla, exiled Jews from Rome, and, in order to support himself, labored with them at making tent cloth.⁹ At once he began to preach, as was his custom, in the Jewish synagogue.¹⁰ His success in winning converts to the gospel soon aroused Jewish antagonism. Being compelled to withdraw from the synagogue, he continued his evangelizing

⁷ Acts 18 2.

⁸ Horace, Ep. I, 17 36. See Robertson-Plummer p. xii.

⁹ Acts 18 1-3.

¹⁰ Ibid. 18 4.

in the house of one of his newly gained converts, Titus Justus.¹¹ In the meantime, Timothy and Silas had joined Paul from Macedonia.¹² Encouraged by his success, he, with their assistance, continued his labors in the city for eighteen months.¹³ The animosity of the Jews increased, with the result that Paul was arrested by them and brought before the Roman proconsul Gallio, who referred the case back to the Jewish synagogue for settlement as a matter to be treated by Jewish, rather than by Roman law.¹⁴ A Christian Church was established containing perhaps one hundred and fifty or two hundred members.

Of the Corinthian Christians, a minor number were Jews,¹⁵ whom Paul had converted while preaching in the synagogue at Corinth, and subsequently. Aquila and Priscilla aided Paul in his efforts to establish Christianity in Corinth; whether they were Christians before they met Paul cannot be determined. Perhaps the most important Jew in the new church was Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue in Corinth, previous to the baptism of himself and family by Paul.¹⁶ These and other Hellenist Jews with perhaps some who had recently come from Palestine, formed a considerable Jewish element—possibly twenty-five percent of the Corinthian church. Titus Justus,¹⁷ in whose house Paul preached after he had left the synagogue, was an influential member of the church. He was in a position to protect Paul and his hospitality made it possible for Paul to continue his work of evangelization. Whether Titus Justus was a Jew or a Gentile is not known. Stephanas and his family were Paul's first Achaian converts.¹⁸ Whether they were Jews or Gentiles cannot be determined. Stephanas became prominent in the work of the church.

At least three-fourths of the Christians at Corinth were in all probability Gentiles. Among these may perhaps be mentioned Gaius, and Erastus, the city treasurer;¹⁹ also Fortunatus and Achaicus, probably slaves, who were subsequently bearers of

¹¹ Acts 18 7.

¹² Ibid. 18 5.

¹³ Ibid. 18 11.

¹⁴ Ibid. 18 12-16.

¹⁵ Ibid. 18 8.

¹⁶ Ibid. 18 8. 1 Cor. 1 14.

¹⁷ Acts 18 7.

¹⁸ 1 Cor. 16 15.

¹⁹ Rom. 16 23.

a letter from the church to Paul.²⁰ So many of the Christians were Gentiles that Paul afterward wrote to them *en masse* as having once been idolaters. Ὅτι ὅτε ἔθνη ἦτε πρὸς τὰ εἰδωλα τὰ ἄφωνα ὡς ἂν ἤγεσθε ἀπαγόμενοι.²¹ They belonged to the element that in Paul's view might have known God by nature, but had failed to do so. While a few of the members, especially Jews, had good moral standards of conduct, the large majority, before becoming Christians, had been accustomed to the laxer morality for which Corinth, like any large commercial city, was noted. The new converts did not, for the most part, come from the higher strata of society. There were a few persons of wealth, scholarship, and high social standing, but the majority were uneducated, and poor, being artisans, wharf-laborers, slaves, and nondescripts. Paul thus addresses them: Βλέπετε γὰρ τὴν κλήσιν ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι οὐ πολλοὶ σοφοὶ κατὰ σάρκα, οὐ πολλοὶ δυνατοί, οὐ πολλοὶ εὐγενεῖς.²² The representatives of all classes met together at the common meal, which was to accomplish an actual brotherhood between them regardless of their social differences. The factious spirit in the church, however, often defeated the purpose of the meal.²³

²⁰ 1 Cor. 16 17.²¹ Ibid. 12 2.²² Ibid. 1 26.²³ Ibid. 11 17-22.

CHAPTER VII

THE FACTIONS AS SEEN IN I CORINTHIANS.

The character of the early Christians in Corinth was not of a kind to insure a well ordered, harmonious congregation. Such a mixed population in a new city would lack the aristocracy that is ordinarily developed by the presence of old families. The people constituted a proletariat, lacking in respect for authority, restless, and of an independent spirit. It is doubtful whether the young church had men who were able to become recognized leaders. At least there is no trace of such organization in the correspondence between Paul and the church. Even the women asserted their liberties, so aggressively as to disturb the order of the public worship.¹ Litigations occurred among the members, who, unable to agree among themselves, carried their dissensions before the Roman courts.² The party spirit therefore soon appeared, and factions disturbed the peace and welfare of the church.

After concluding his ministry in Corinth, Paul proceeded to Ephesus, accompanied by Aquila and Priscilla.³ A little later, Apollos, a Hellenistic Jew of Alexandria, visited the church at Corinth and preached effectively.⁴ He had previously been in Ephesus, and had favorably impressed the Corinthian Christians there, who sent him to Corinth with letters of commendation.⁵ Paul, it seems, had previously written a letter,⁶ now lost, to the church after his departure, giving advice on certain vital topics. Sections of the letter were misunderstood by some with the result that the church sent three members with a letter to Paul, asking for explanations.⁷ About the

¹ 1 Cor. 11 3-15.

² Ibid. 6 1-8.

³ Acts XVIII 18, 19.

⁴ Ibid. 18 24-26.

⁵ Ibid. 18 27.

⁶ 1 Cor. 5 9.

⁷ Ibid. 16 17.

same time certain persons connected with the family of Chloe informed Paul of the factious spirit in the church.⁸ Paul had learned, by rumor and otherwise, of serious moral lapses among the Christians, of disorder at the Lord's Supper, and of skepticism, on the part of some about the doctrine of the resurrection. But what alarmed him most of all was the contentious spirit which threatened to destroy the church. He therefore immediately wrote a long letter to the Corinthian Christians, sending it by Timothy, Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus,⁹ in which he dealt with the various problems of the church, but first and chiefly, with the factions.¹⁰ These factions were of recent origin. They had not yet developed into separate groups, as all met together in one congregation, and united in sending a letter of inquiry to Paul. Nevertheless Paul regarded them as serious and hastened to check the evil.

In the second¹¹ letter that he wrote them Paul specifically names the parties. There are four of them. Their adherents have set up the party watchwords. 'Εγὼ μὲν εἰμι Παύλου, 'Εγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλῶ, 'Εγὼ δὲ Κηφᾶ, 'Εγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ.¹² There were doubtless some Christians who had not lent their support to any of these factions.

It is easy to account for the Pauline party. It was composed of the Apostle's particular friends and partisan defenders. Since Paul was the founder of the church, it is but natural that when parties began to develop the one who established the Christians in their new relationship should have a strong, loyal following. Stimulated by the zeal of other partisans, his friends had, so Paul thought, exalted him too highly.¹³

It is also easy to account for the Apollos party. The brilliancy of Apollos had attracted a devoted following, but not until he had left Corinth did the watchword develop 'Εγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλῶ, even in opposition to Paul. Apollos, while at Corinth did not preach a doctrine differing materially from that of Paul. He had been associated with Aquila and Priscilla at Ephesus, and from them had learned much of the Apostle's

⁸ 1 Cor. 1 11.

⁹ Ibid. 16 10, 17.

¹⁰ Ibid. 1—4.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid. 1 12.

¹³ Robertson-Plummer, Com. 1 Cor. p. 11.

teachings. Being a polished speaker, drilled to a certain extent in the rhetoric and philosophy of the Alexandrian schools, he probably had a more pleasing manner than did Paul, whose presence and speech were discounted in comparison. Perhaps the Alexandrian use of allegory in interpreting the Scriptures also contributed to make him a favorite of many. It is probable that the followers of Paul and Apollos were Gentiles, and that they differed in doctrinal views no more than did the men whose names they adopted in party cries.¹⁴

It is not so easy to account for the Cephas faction. The question is at once raised: Had Peter before this time been at Corinth? Dionysius, bishop of Corinth in the second century, maintained in a letter to Rome that Peter once visited the city. This is possible, but improbable. Certainly if he had preached there before Paul wrote I Corinthians, mention would have been made of it in a letter. Full credit is given by Paul to Apollos for his share in the work,¹⁵ but while Peter is mentioned respectfully, he seems to have had nothing to do with the church at Corinth. The party that bore his name was in all probability led by Jewish Christians from Palestine, who had been with Peter, and possibly had been baptized by him or his disciples. Paul's apostleship was an issue in the church when he wrote I Corinthians.¹⁶ The only way in which such an issue could arise would be by certain Christians maintaining that he was not on a par with the original twelve apostles. Paul's own Jewish converts would be the last to raise such an issue. We must, therefore, look to the arrival of Jewish Christians, possibly from Palestine, who, having affiliated with a church that was exalting party leaders, chose the name of Cephas for their party cry. No doubt they found in Corinth some Hellenistic Jews, and possibly a few devout Greeks, who, owing to their former association with the synagogue, would be influenced by the use of Peter's great name. Such a party doubtless believed that at least all *Jewish* Christians should observe the Jewish ritual law. Like Peter it would not be hostile to Paul nor to Gentile Christianity.

¹⁴ Robertson-Plummer, Com. 1 Cor. p. 11.

¹⁵ 1 Cor. 3:5, 6.

¹⁶ Ibid. 9:1-6.

Still more difficult is the attempt to define the Christ party. Some think it was identical with the Cephas party.¹⁷ Others think it did not exist. So little is said about it in I Corinthians that were it not for later data its existence might well be questioned. Its work and influence were then too immature to call for special consideration. Judging from Paul's letter, the movement was an exclusive one. The party members arrogated to themselves certain special relations to Christ, certain knowledge and privileges that the other members of the church as yet did not have. They were followers of the example of Christ in ways the others were not. They formed, as it were, an inner circle, of which he was the centre.¹⁸

These four parties represent, locally, certain tendencies and influences that had for some time been forming in the primitive Christian Church, and which were gradually crystallizing into movements more or less definite in character. The Pauline party represented the most genuine type of Gentile Christianity, standing for freedom from the ceremonial law of the Old Testament, and for liberty in the gospel of Christ. It is probable that the immature Corinthian Christians abused their liberty,¹⁹ influenced as they were by their environment and former habits of life, and that this abuse reacted against Paul in favor of his Jewish opponents. The Apollos party, also Gentile, doubtless represented the Greek Christians, who, exalting Hellenic wisdom, sought to find in the gospel a new wisdom that would appeal to their intellectual tastes. However, it is probable that the Greeks seeking wisdom in the Corinthian church²⁰ were by no means confined to the Apollos faction. The Cephas party, composed chiefly of Jews, was the result of a tendency originating in Palestine, conservative, holding to the observance of the ceremonial law for all Jews, but in favor of peace and compromise with the Gentile Christians. There was also an exclusive tendency in Palestine, represented by the zealots for the ceremonial law, who insisted that all Gentiles must be circumcised, and keep the ceremonial law

¹⁷ Bauer, *Die Christus-Partei*, pp. 80—84.

¹⁸ 1 Cor. 1 13; 3 22, 23.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 10 23; 11 5, 6, 21, et al.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 1 22.

as did the Jews, in order to be saved. These extremists were very hostile to the Apostle Paul. They are known as Judaizers. There is some evidence that they were at work in Corinth. The charges made against Paul in Galatia seem to have been made here also. His defense of his apostleship would hardly have been made under other conditions.²¹ The question of his right to financial support that he had neither asked nor received would not otherwise have been raised by the Corinthian Christians.²² There is a trace of this influence in the narrow, exclusive Christ faction. But the movement was not yet sufficiently developed to call for further treatment in the letter, and our data therefore on this point are meagre. We must look to Paul's subsequent correspondence with the church for further light in this matter. In fact, when Paul wrote I Corinthians, none of these factions were fully developed. The lines were not yet sharply drawn. When Stephanas and others brought Paul a letter from the church, neither they nor the letter mentioned the factions. It is possible that the three brethren represented different factions. Paul received his information from an unofficial source.²³ It was not the extent of the division but the divisive tendency that alarmed him. This aroused him to write immediately, before the factions developed a bitterness of feeling that would render reconciliation impossible.

Paul's treatment of the situation favors the view that he did not consider it hopeless. Instead of championing the party of his own adherents and strengthening them against their opponents, he deals with all the parties together, shows the folly and weakness of the party spirit, and emphasizes the unity and wholeness of the church.²⁴ He deplores the fact that Christ's name should be used as a party shibboleth.²⁵ He regrets deeply that his own name should have been used as a party watchword when his adherents had not been baptized into his name, nor had he been crucified for them.²⁶ His was not so distinguished a mission. He was only to preach the

²¹ 1 Cor. 9 1, 2.

²⁴ Ibid. 1 11-13; 3 1-9.

²² Ibid. 9 3-18.

²⁵ Ibid. 1 13; 3 22.

²³ Ibid. 1 11.

²⁶ Ibid. 1 13, 14.

gospel, effectively symbolized by the crucifixion of Christ.²⁷ In his judgement the shame of the cross was one of the roots of their divisions.²⁸ The cross did not appeal to the Jewish element; they sought miracles and signs. In fact the cross was to them a stumbling block. To the Greeks, on the other hand, the cross was an absurdity. They were seeking wisdom. Neither element could reconcile the cross with God's power and wisdom. Hence, there were Gentile Christians who, in their dissatisfaction with Paul's preaching, were attracted by the philosophy and rhetoric of those who were to them more pleasing speakers. And there were Jewish Christians who wanted a different gospel; for them redemption through the death of Jesus was insufficient. Paul reminds the church that he did not attempt to preach a philosophy, nor did he attempt a rhetorical gnostic interpretation of the gospel.²⁹ He loves wisdom, to be sure, but it is a higher type than the Hellenic. God has revealed it, not in the classics of the wise, but by his spirit.³⁰ He exclaims: *ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ γραμματεὺς; ποῦ συνζητητὴς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου; οὐχὶ ἐμώρανεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ κόσμου; ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἔγνω ὁ κόσμος διὰ τῆς σοφίας τὸν θεὸν εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ τῆς μωρίας τοῦ κηρύγματος σῶσαι τοὺς πιστεύοντας. ἐπειδὴ καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι σημεῖα αἰτοῦσιν καὶ Ἕλληνες σοφίαν ζητοῦσιν ἡμεῖς δὲ κηρύσσομεν Χριστὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, Ἰουδαίοις μὲν σκάνδαλον ἔθνεσιν δὲ μωρίαν, αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς κλητοῖς, Ἰουδαίοις τε καὶ Ἕλλησιν, Χριστὸν θεοῦ δύναμιν καὶ θεοῦ σοφίαν.*³¹

The trouble with the Corinthian partisans is that they have not enough of God's spirit. Their dissensions are proof of this.³² As long as they are contentious, and jealous, and lacking in the unity that characterizes Christians, they are far from the ideal of what Paul thinks Christians should be. When one declares himself a partisan of Paul, and another of Apollos, they prove that they do not possess the spirit of God.³³ To Paul it is plain, not only that the Corinthians have a wrong conception of the gospel, but that they have perverted ideas

²⁷ 1 Cor. 1 17, 18.²⁸ Ibid. 1 23.²⁹ Ibid. 2 6-13.³⁰ Ibid.³¹ Ibid. 1 20-24.³² Ibid. 3 8.³³ Ibid. 3 1-4.

about the character and work of those who preach the gospel, hence their dissensions over the preachers. He then declares the real position occupied by Apollos, himself, and the other teachers of the gospel. They are only humble servants in God's hands, each with his own task to perform. Paul and Apollos had contributed their efforts to the planting and furtherance of the gospel, but all growth comes from God alone.³⁴

Paul then proceeds to show to the Corinthians the error of enlisting under human leaders. The Christian's heritage is universal, not partial. Instead of the Christian belonging to Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, these and all other teachers belong to the Christian. The Christian belongs only to Christ, and Christ to God.³⁵ He warns them against constituting themselves as so many human courts to pass judgement on himself, a conceit foreign to their own calling, and a prerogative that belongs only to Christ.³⁶

Paul concludes his treatment of the parties by applying his comments to himself and Apollos, with whom he was on friendly terms. It is noticeable that Peter's name is not mentioned in this connection. Evidently as cordial relations did not exist between Paul and the Cephas party as existed between Paul and the Apollos party. One need not look far to find the reason. Paul's apostleship had been questioned.³⁷ Certain ones desired to examine his credentials. He was not placed on a level in privileges *ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ Κηφᾶς*.³⁸ These objections came from Palestine. To his Corinthian converts Paul was an apostle. They were the seal of his apostleship.³⁹ The Corinthians never would have raised this question. It is explicable on the assumption that Jews from Palestine had entered the Corinthian church, or at least that their anti-Pauline propaganda had made itself felt at Corinth. Certain mild Jewish Christians, of weak conscience and scrupulous, had probably yielded to the Judaizers, as did Peter before them,⁴⁰ and hence adopted the name of Cephas as their party watchword. Because of their Jewish

³⁴ 1 Cor. 3 5-9.³⁵ Ibid. 3 18-23.³⁶ Ibid. 4 1-3.³⁷ Ibid. 9 1 ff.³⁸ Ibid. 9 5.³⁹ Ibid. 9 2.⁴⁰ Gal. 2 13.

background they had more affinity with the Christ party than with those of Paul and Apollos. Paul appears very guarded in what he writes about the Jewish factions. His comparative silence has been construed to indicate that there was no such element at Corinth as the Christ party. The epistle, however, seems to make room for the presence of the Judaizers of Palestine. Paul had met them as opponents four times before.⁴¹ At Antioch he contended against them earnestly in behalf of Gentile Christianity. He met them at the conference in Jerusalem,⁴² when he obtained from the apostles the concession that Gentiles need not keep the Jewish ceremonial law. He met them again at Antioch,⁴³ whither they came to oppose Paul's interpretation of the conference agreement and to correct Peter. Into the Galatian⁴⁴ churches the same movement had sent emissaries to destroy Paul's influence with his churches, and to fasten upon the Gentile Christians observance of the Jewish ritual law. It is possible that they have now reached Corinth. Wise from their experience with Paul in Galatia, they would be cautious about demanding immediately that all Gentile Christians be circumcised, although Paul seems to anticipate such a move. He, therefore, introduces the subject in his letter, insisting that circumcision or uncircumcision is nothing. He urges all who became Christians without circumcision not to be circumcised.⁴⁵ Unless Paul feared Judaizing influence, he would hardly have mentioned circumcision in the letter. It is possible that Paul had better knowledge of the purpose and methods of the Christ party than his letter indicates. These opponents in their first efforts were content with the breaking down of Paul's influence with the church. To this end they spared no pains. They questioned his authority as an apostle,⁴⁶ and belittled his personality. They were employing strategy to accomplish their ends. They had not yet come out into the open. So Paul, who probably understood the situation in the light of his previous experience, thought best to defer special action against them. He,

⁴¹ Acts 15 1, 2.⁴² Ibid. 15 6, 7; Gal. 2 3-5.⁴³ Gal. 2 11 ff.⁴⁴ Ibid. 1 ff.⁴⁵ 1 Cor. 7 18, 19.⁴⁶ Ibid. 9 1 ff.

therefore, in this letter, reproves the factious members all together, threatens to visit them,⁴⁷ and leaves it to them whether he shall come with a rod, or as a kind and gentle father.⁴⁸

The immediate effect of the letter was not what Paul had hoped. No doubt the Pauline faction and that of Apollos accepted Paul's rebuke in good spirit, and followed his advice. We hear no more from Paul about them. The principles upon which they were based were not fundamental. But those who denied Paul's apostleship and authority were only made more hostile and determined. With them, his letter, instead of correcting the evil, seemed only to aggravate it. The opposition was continued by the most exclusive faction. We hear no more from Paul about the Cephas party. Probably some of its members obeyed the requests in Paul's letter, and others, the more radical ones, were absorbed into the Christ faction, and dominated by it. By the latter, the opposition to Paul became violent, and for a time it seemed that the Apostle's influence and usefulness at Corinth were at an end.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ 1 Cor. 4 18, 19.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 4 21.

⁴⁹ This situation is manifest from Paul's later correspondence with the church at Corinth.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FACTIONS AS SEEN IN II CORINTHIANS.

Alarmed over the new situation in Corinth that had developed since the reception of his letter dealing with the parties and other troubles in the church, Paul made a hasty visit to Corinth in an attempt to effect by personal effort what he had failed to do by correspondence.¹ The difficulty took the form of a personal attack upon the Apostle. Finding that it was not advisable to remain in Corinth, Paul hastened back to Ephesus.

The situation he left behind him in Corinth was far more serious than the one dealt with in I Corinthians. We hear no more of the Apollos and Cephas factions as such, nor of the Pauline party, except an allusion to Paul's especial defenders.² The Christ faction, however, of which so little is said in I Corinthians, had now acquired a position of dangerous influence in the church. The facts about this exclusive party, which was composed of Paul's strongest opponents, are somewhat elusive; but there are certain fixed points that enable us to describe it in outline.

The following are the characteristics of these opponents:

1. They had come from abroad; at least the leader or leaders had,³ and Paul speaks of them in the third person, as though they were not members of the Corinthian church.⁴ They brought letters of commendation.⁵

2. They were Jews,⁶ and boasted of their nationality and prerogatives. They were Hebrews, Israelites, and the seed of Abraham.

¹ 2 Cor. 1:15-17; 2:1, 2.

² Ibid. 2:6, 7.

³ Ibid. 11:4.

⁴ Ibid. 10:10.

⁵ Ibid. 3:1, 2.

⁶ Ibid. 11:22.

3. They claimed the especial authority of Christ in an exclusive sense, which they denied to Paul.⁷ They claimed to be Christ's ministers,⁸ and boldly and aggressively they asserted these claims.

4. They openly attacked the apostleship of Paul, assigning to him authority, rank, and a ministry inferior to their own.⁹

5. Apparently, they came from Palestine. There is no definite record that such was the case. But the assumption is in harmony with all the known facts. Their implied associations with Jesus, and their superior airs all point to Palestine, and to the mother church at Jerusalem. We do know that Palestine had just such Christians as are here described; and that emissaries had been sent out by them to other Gentile Christian churches founded by Paul, to accomplish a work similar to that undertaken in Corinth. We do not know that such emissaries were sent by extra-Palestinian churches. In Antioch; however, they had been "brought in."¹⁰

6. They were Judaizers. They claimed to be *διάκονοι δικαιοσύνης*¹¹ (Láw), and their ultimate purpose was to enslave (*καταδουλοῦν*)¹² the Corinthians, as they had attempted to enslave (*καταδουλοῦν*)¹³ the Galatians to the Jewish ritual law. The word used by Paul is identical in both passages and is used by him nowhere else. The situation was, to a large extent, the same in Corinth and Galatia. Objection is made that we find no evidence of Judaizing effort in Paul's allusions to them. In fact 2 Corinthians 3 is a strong anti-Jewish apologetic. The Palestinian Judaizers, as we learn in the epistle to the Galatians, had previously sent out emissaries with two objects in view: To destroy the influence of Paul in his Gentile churches, and to induce all Gentile Christians to observe the Jewish ceremonial law. This second object, however, after the explicit pronouncement of the Pillars,¹⁴ could no longer be insisted on as *de rigueur*. Even Galatians already shows that it was urged now merely as a counsel of perfection. In Galatia the Judaizers had failed in both respects. They had perhaps discovered by

⁷ 2 Cor. 10 7.

⁸ Ibid. 11 23.

⁹ Ibid. 11 5, 23 ff.

¹⁰ Gal. 2 4.

¹¹ 2 Cor. 11 15.

¹² Ibid. 11 20.

¹³ Gal. 2 4.

¹⁴ Ibid. 2 1-10.

the time of 2 Corinthians that the Gentile Christians, as a class, would refuse circumcision. The Judaizers in Corinth, therefore, were content, for the present, to undermine Paul's influence and authority with the church, hoping afterward, no doubt, to convert the Gentiles to observance of the ritual law as far as practicable.

7. They demanded and secured financial support for their preaching, and attributed wrong motives to Paul because he preached the gospel without charge.¹⁵ They even hinted that, through his agents, Titus and others, he was raising large collections, ostensibly for charitable purposes, but really for private emolument.¹⁶

8. They were good speakers, bold and aggressive, and they ridiculed as weakness Paul's mildness and consideration in speech and appearance.¹⁷

9. Instead of doing pioneer missionary work as Paul and others were doing, they followed up Paul and entered his well-worked field. The plan of work betrays the character of the proselyter.¹⁸

10. They accused Paul of cowardice when he was present with the Christians, and attributed to him courage only when he was absent.¹⁹ He was also vacillating.²⁰

11. They charged that he had worldly ways and motives²¹ and that he had used deceit in winning the Corinthians.²²

12. On the other hand, these opponents were accused by Paul of using deceit.²³ According to his judgment they were false apostles, and ministers of Satan; likewise they were pretending to be workers of righteousness.²⁴

13. He charged his opponents were enslaving the Christians at Corinth, devouring them, exalting themselves, assuming an air of importance, and even of treating the Corinthians brutally.²⁵

14. He believed that they were preaching a doctrine fundamentally different from that which he himself taught. It was another Jesus, a different spirit and gospel from what the Corinthians had learned from him.²⁶

¹⁵ 2 Cor. 11 7-12.

¹⁶ Ibid. 12 17.

¹⁷ Ibid. 5 12; 10 1; 11 16; 12 7.

¹⁸ Ibid. 10 13, 15.

¹⁹ Ibid. 10 1.

²⁰ Ibid. 1 17.

²¹ Ibid. 10 2.

²² Ibid. 7 2.

²³ Ibid. 11 13; Cf. Gal. 4 13-20.

²⁴ 2 Cor. 11 13-15.

²⁵ Ibid. 11 20.

²⁶ Ibid. 11 4.

Paul could not leave the situation to settle itself. Feeling keenly the personal insult received during his hasty visit, and the humiliating failure of his personal efforts to improve conditions, he wrote another letter to the church, making a desperate effort to free the Corinthians from the influence of his Judaizing opponents. He was in great mental anguish when he wrote. He reported afterwards that he wrote in tears.²⁷ He felt that his future friendly relations with the church were at stake. The Corinthians recognized that he had been wronged by an offender, yet they were in no mood to come to Paul's defense. His opponents seem to have antagonized Paul in a way to humiliate the Apostle greatly. He left in anger and sent Titus with a severe letter intended to test their loyalty to their apostle.²⁸

Is this severe letter identical with 2 Corinthians? Evidently not, for Paul there refers to it as a past event.²⁹ 1 Corinthians does not fit the conditions. But it is not necessary to consider the letter wholly lost, for in 2 Corinthians 10—13 we have a fragment of the kind of material that the situation demands. That these chapters were originally not part of the same letter with chapters 1—9, is evident from the context. Chapters 1—9 belong to a later date, and refer to improved conditions altogether different from the unfortunate state of affairs in chapters 10—13. We assume, therefore, that chapters 10—13 are at least a part of the severe letter sent by Paul to the Corinthians immediately following his painful visit.³⁰

It is in this letter contained in chapters 10—13 that we have the account of Paul's treatment of the situation. He begins with a warning entreaty to the Corinthians, since he is said to be meek and lowly in their presence, not to urge him when he is again with them, into open and fearless denunciation of his opponents, who charge him with preaching only for mercenary purposes, and living a worldly life. He

²⁷ 2 Cor. 2 4.

²⁸ Ibid. 2 9, 12, 13.

²⁹ Ibid. 2 4, 9.

³⁰ For full discussion of this view, see Robertson and Plummer, *Com. 1 Cor.* pp. xxvii-xxxvi. In agreement are listed Adeney, Bacon, Clemen, Kennedy, Lake, Lipsius, McGiffert, Moffatt, Pfeiderer, and others. Opposed are Alford, Beet, Denney, Meyer, B. Weiß, Zahn, and others.

admits that he is a human being, subject to the usual human limitations, but insists that the weapons of the warfare he is waging are spiritual, made effective by the power of God. He announces that just as soon as the misled members themselves become obedient to his authority, he will be prepared to deal summarily with their false leaders, who are responsible for the defection from Paul and the true gospel.³¹ He suggests that the Corinthians are looking at things too much on the surface. They are judging men and motives by mere appearances. His opponents claim everything. If claims alone are sufficient, such as the Judaizers by their boasting and self-commendation have made, then their cause is established. But this Paul denies. They claim that they are Christ's. They boast of special privileges and authority. But Paul glories in the authority the Lord gave him, and replies that he also is Christ's³² and that as a genuine apostle he will not be put to shame. He knows his opponents and he understands them. He is dealing with the same emissaries as in Galatians 17. It is probable that he referred to them in his previous letter when he quoted the party cry 'Εγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ.³³ When he wrote his former letter he had four factions to deal with; now he has but one. The others have all vanished, apparently, and this one has attained a position of dangerous influence in the church. He would avoid all appearance of terrifying the church by his letters, which even his adversaries admit are strong and effective, in sharp contrast with his personality, which is weak.³⁴ He warns the man who talks thus that in his work he is the same when present as he is when absent. He is not one thing in Corinth and another in Macedonia.³⁵ He intimates that his opponents have fixed a standard easily reached by themselves,³⁶ and are judging Paul by it. He rejects all human standards, and will be guided by God alone, who included Corinth in his sphere of labor.³⁷ Even now he is ambitious to go on beyond them and preach the gospel where it has never been heard.³⁸ Unlike his opponents, he is not trying to

³¹ 2 Cor. 10 1-6.³² 1 Cor. 10 7, 8.³³ Ibid. 1 12.³⁴ 2 Cor. 10 9, 10.³⁵ Ibid. 10 11.³⁶ Ibid. 10 12.³⁷ Ibid. 10 13.³⁸ Ibid. 10. 17, 18.

reap the fruits of another man's toil, that he may have excuse for boasting. He then turns against the Judaizers the charge that he was boasting of himself.³⁹

Paul continues discussing his apostolic office and authority in the light of the objections made by his opponents. They have boasted beyond measure and Paul strongly disapproves. But the Corinthians have received their boasting in such good faith that the Apostle feels impelled to resort to their tactics though with humble and profound apologies for employing such means. He refers to the church as the betrothed of Christ,⁴⁰ and is anxious that she be kept pure while awaiting the parousia, although he fears lest the enemy may lead her astray as the serpent beguiled Eve.⁴¹ Paul makes it plain that the intruders have preached a doctrine concerning Jesus, the spirit and the gospel, fundamentally different from that which he preached, and yet the church has received them graciously and borne with them charitably.⁴² Paul asserts that not in the least is he inferior to these self-styled apostles.⁴³ Even if their manner of speaking pleases some better than that of Paul, the Corinthian should think of Paul's knowledge.⁴⁴ Paul had refused remuneration for his preaching at Corinth. His opponents had interpreted this as evidence, and in fact as self-acknowledgement, that he had not the full rights and privileges of the apostles, who received support from those to whom they preached.⁴⁵ In 1 Corinthians 9 6-16 Paul had already given his reasons for such procedure. Now he reminds the church that his opponents are receiving pay, to the extent of even burdening the people. They are trying to force Paul to do the same, in order to exonerate themselves in their course.⁴⁶ Paul, however, is firm. He asks the Corinthians if he sinned when he worked at his trade to support himself, or was supported by the churches of Macedonia, that he might preach to them the gospel for nothing.⁴⁷ He insists that he will not change his course. He must be left free to follow his own plans in all

³⁹ 2 Cor. 10 17, 18.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 11 1, 2.

⁴¹ Ibid. 11 3.

⁴² Ibid. 11 4.

⁴³ Ibid. 11 5.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 11 6.

⁴⁵ Ibid. 11 7-9.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 11 7-11.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 11 9.

Achaia.⁴⁸ By so doing he can preserve his own independence and can also weaken the attacks of his adversaries, forcing them to cease exacting support from the church.⁴⁹ Paul declares that they are false apostles, working fraudulently while assuming to be apostles of Christ. He even compares them to Satan, calls them *οἱ διάκονοι αὐτοῦ*, who *μετασχηματίζονται ὡς διάκονοι δικαιοσύνης*. He predicts for them an end in accordance with their works.⁵⁰

Paul may appear inconsistent, accepting support from the Macedonians and refusing it from the Corinthians, and this probably gave his opponents an excuse for charging that he was securing his support in an underhanded way. However, his pioneer work demanded freedom. While planting the church he had to keep free from obligations to the pagan communities, and young Christians whose lives he was attempting to transform. Does he appear too severe in denouncing opponents? We must bear in mind that his work was threatened. Not only were the strangers attempting to reap his harvest; still worse, they were actually destroying his harvest. He was contending, not only for his own sake, but for the sake of the Corinthians themselves. Therefore he continues his self-exaltation, distasteful and humiliating as it is to him, that he may save the church from destruction.

He charges that the impostors, as he calls them, are attempting to enslave the Corinthians. He has in mind, no doubt, their similar attempt to reduce the Gentile Christians in Galatia to the slavery of Jewish ritual.⁵¹ The opponents are even impoverishing the Christians in Corinth, practicing extortion, preying upon them, and treating them with affront.⁵² Such harsh treatment was not unusual at the hands of the Jews in Paul's day.⁵³ Especially, when in position to deal officiously with Gentiles, they showed a spirit of insolence, treating them as inferiors. Paul confesses himself unable to vie with them in such methods.⁵⁴

Again the Judaizers boast of their nationality. They are Hebrews, Israelites, and the seed of Abraham. Had they been

⁴⁸ 2 Cor. 11 10.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 11 12.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 11 13-15.

⁵¹ Gal. 2 4; 5 1.

⁵² 2 Cor. 11 20.

⁵³ Mark. 14 65. Acts 23 2.

⁵⁴ 2 Cor. 11 21.

Antinomian Jews, as some believe, this would have been a strange boast to make before Gentiles. In fact, they would not have made it. Rather because they were Judaizers, attempting to enforce their ritual upon the Gentile Christians they boasted so much of their descent. Paul meets their boast squarely. He is all that they claim to be.⁵⁵ They boast of their apostolic ministry.⁵⁶ They had claimed to be Christ's⁵⁷ and apostles of Christ.⁵⁸ They now make much of their high office; their claims and pretensions far overshadow those of Paul. But Paul answers by appealing to his own work in the apostolic office. Here again apologizing for his boasting, he enumerates a long list of toils and sufferings for the gospel that probably could not be equalled by any other apostolic evangelist. Paul's opponents may have labored, but it is evident that they have not suffered serious deprivations. In comparison with Paul's sacrifices, their claims to apostolic labors appear greatly inferior.⁵⁹ The opponents are, in Paul's judgment, seeking to pervert the churches already established, and to live comfortably from such labor. Paul has an anxious interest in all the churches, desiring remuneration from none, save that he may use it to establish the gospel in new fields. The opponents urge dignified comfort as the badge of the apostolic office. Paul spurns comfort, and cites his calloused hands and scarred body as the insignia of his apostleship. They are perhaps belittling his persecutions, and even refer to his flight from Damascus as an act of cowardice. Paul solemnly tells the simple truth about the incident, as sufficient refutation of their insinuation. Paul has just one more boast to make.

They had charged that his visions and revelations were evidence of his madness. He refers to them, only because criticism has compelled him, and shows that they are God's recognition of his work. Paul has kept comparative silence for fourteen years, as to the great privileges he has enjoyed. Now he is forced to speak of his marvellous visions of the

⁵⁵ 2 Cor. 11 22.

⁵⁶ Ibid. 11 23.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 10 7.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 11 13.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 11 22-33.

third heaven and Paradise,⁶⁰ to re-establish himself with the Corinthians. But he still glories in his weakness, and tells of his infirmity that keeps him humble.⁶¹

Paul complains bitterly that the Corinthians, his own church, where he had given all the signs of apostleship, should lend such willing ears to rival apostles, and become persuaded that Paul had done wrong in refusing pay for his preaching.⁶² But he knows he is right. He prepares to make his third visit to them with the announcement that he will continue the policy. In answering the charge of underhandedness through his agents, he challenges the church to show where Titus or any other messenger from him has taken unfair advantage of them.⁶³

The author of this severe letter questions whether it will have the desired effect. He fears lest when he visits them again he will still be disappointed in them; lest many still cling to the same old sinful ways; that there will still be strifes, jealousies and factions;⁶⁴ and that God will again humble him as He did on the second visit, when Paul was so seriously offended.⁶⁵

Nevertheless, Paul plans for a third visit.⁶⁶ He announces that he will conduct a strict inquiry, and that wrongs shall, so far as possible, be righted.⁶⁷ Since the Corinthians seek proof of his God-given authority, he promises to show it without sparing.⁶⁸ But while absent, he prays that the Corinthians may spare him the pain of using such authority at his coming.⁶⁹ If verses 11—14 are to be included in the fragment, he closes with an exhortation of rejoicing, urges peace and love, and embraces all, even his bitter enemies, in his blessing.⁷⁰

⁶⁰ 2 Cor. 12 2.

⁶¹ Ibid. 12 7.

⁶² Ibid. 12 11-13.

⁶³ Ibid. 12 18.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 12 20.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 12 21.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 13 2.

⁶⁷ Ibid. 13 1.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 13 3.

⁶⁹ Ibid. 13 7-10.

⁷⁰ Ibid. 13 11-14.

CHAPTER IX

THE LEADERS OF THE FACTIONS.

Who were responsible for the factions that arose in the Corinthian church after Paul's first visit? Movements of this kind usually have leaders. The factions claimed as their authorities the great men whose names they used in their party cries. These were Paul, Apollos, Cephas, and Christ.¹

We cannot think of Paul as one who would lead or foment a faction. Far from encouraging or sympathizing with the party that used his name, he condemned it along with the others. With him the divisive spirit² in the church threatened greater evils than did the case of flagrant immorality.³ He made it plain to all that he was the servant of the whole church, and not the champion of a clique. His friends had over-exalted him. He was not crucified for them, nor were they baptized into his name. Such exaltation of one of their preachers was evidence of a low degree of spirituality on the part of the Corinthians,⁴ the natural outgrowth of which was jealousy and strife.

While we can only conjecture in regard to the actual leaders of the Pauline party, we naturally assume that they were among the early converts whom Paul won to the gospel while in Corinth. Among these were the three prominent men whom Paul himself baptized: Crispus, Gaius, and Stephanas.⁵ Crispus was the ruler of the synagogue.⁶ It required strong influence on the part of Paul to induce this man with his family to break with the synagogue and join a new and untried venture. The attachment to Paul formed under these circumstances

¹ 1 Cor. 1 12.

² Ibid. 3 1-9.

³ Ibid. 5 1-13.

⁴ Ibid. 3 3-7.

⁵ Ibid. 1 16, 17.

⁶ Acts 18 8.

would be all the stronger when efforts were being made to depreciate him. Gaius is probably to be identified with Paul's host in Romans 16 23. He was a man who showed deep interest in the welfare of the church. Stephanas and his family were Paul's first converts in Achaia. He was a strong worker in the church, and was one of the three who carried the church's letter to Paul at Ephesus.⁷ He, too, was doubtless one of Paul's close friends. Certain ones from the family of Chloe,⁸ probably slaves, were confidential friends of Paul, and brought him rumors of the factions, but they probably lacked the elements of leadership.

We cannot, however, explain purely on personal grounds the faction whose party cry was *Ἐγὼ μὲν εἰμι Παύλου*.⁸ The teaching and practice of Paul contributed much to crystallize into a faction those who approved of his attitude toward the law. He had preached freedom for Gentiles and had opposed the imposition of the law upon them. He had preached the breaking down of the middle wall of partition between Jewish and Gentile Christians to the end that table fellowship and general social intercourse should be practiced by all. This new freedom, acceptable especially to the Gentile converts, would naturally make Paul, its acknowledged champion, a favorite with many. It is probably in the Pauline faction that we should find many of those who were abusing their new found freedom. Here we should look for those who felt free to eat meat offered to idols;⁹ the women who asserted their right to instruct in the church;¹⁰ and those who abused the spiritual gift of tongues.¹¹ Paul reproached all of these along with those of the other factions.¹² He did teach freedom. To the Galatians he wrote: *Τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἡμᾶς Χριστὸς ἠλευθέρωσεν· στήκετε οὖν καὶ μὴ πάλιν ζυγῷ δουλείας ἐνέχεσθε*.¹³ But he also taught *μόνον μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ἀφορμὴν τῇ σαρκί*.¹⁴ There is no real freedom that is not guided and controlled by love.¹⁵ Paul himself was free. *Οὐκ εἰμι ἐλεύθερος*;¹⁶ he exclaims. He asserted his right

⁷ 1 Cor. 16 7.

⁸ Ibid. 1 12.

⁹ Ibid. 8 1-13.

¹⁰ Ibid. 14 34, 35.

¹¹ Ibid. 24 27, 28.

¹² Ibid. 1 13, 14.

¹³ Gal. 5 1.

¹⁴ Ibid. 5 13.

¹⁵ Ibid. 5 14.

¹⁶ 1 Cor. 20 1.

to eat and drink; to have a wife; to receive support for his work.¹⁷ But he confesses, οὐκ ἐχρησάμεθα τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ταύτῃ, ἀλλὰ στέγομεν ἵνα μὴ τινα εὐκοπήν δώμεν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ Χριστοῦ.¹⁸ He adds also: Ἐλεύθερος γὰρ ὢν ἐκ πάντων πᾶσιν ἐμαυτὸν ἐδούλωσα, ἵνα τοὺς πλείονας κερδήσω· καὶ ἐγενόμην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὡς Ἰουδαῖος, ἵνα Ἰουδαίους κερδήσω. τοῖς ὑπὸ νόμον ὡς ὑπὸ νόμον, μὴ ὢν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ νόμον, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον κερδήσω τοῖς ἀνόμοις ὡς ἄνομος, μὴ ὢν ἄνομος θεοῦ ἀλλ' ἔννομος Χριστοῦ, ἵνα κερδαίνω τοὺς ἀνόμους. ἐγενόμην τοῖς ἀσθενέσιν ἀσθενής, ἵνα τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς κερδήσω· τοῖς πᾶσιν γέγονα πάντα ἵνα πάντως τινὰς σώσω.¹⁹ It is in this spirit that Paul used his freedom; and it is this use of freedom that Paul commended to his partisans when he said: μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε, καθὼς καὶ γὰρ Χριστοῦ.²⁰ Those "of Paul", imitators of the practice of Paul, were urged by the apostle to be his followers, not merely in the letter of the law, but in the spirit. And such imitation rendered factions impossible.

We cannot think of Apollos as the leader of the faction that bore his name. He was, at the time Paul first wrote of the parties, at Ephesus, on intimate terms with the Apostle. On learning that there were factions at Corinth, he was not willing to accept an invitation to return and preach. After Paul had founded the church, Apollos had been there and preached eloquently. He was, perhaps, a better trained speaker²¹ than Paul. He no doubt baptized some while there, although the number could not have been large. His converts had never had anything to do with Paul. According to good Hellenic custom in the Mystery religions, they called themselves after their spiritual father. They would naturally become the leaders in the Apollos faction. But since Apollos' residence in Corinth had been brief, and since he was not, at the time the factions were developing, within reach of the church, it must have been in a sense different from that of a merely personal following that certain members raised as their party cry 'Εγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλώ.²² They were imitators of the practice of Apollos, even as others were imitators of the practice of Paul. With them, the

¹⁷ 1 Cor. 9 4-11.¹⁸ Ibid. 9 12.¹⁹ Ibid. 9 19-22.²⁰ Ibid. 11 1.²¹ Acts 18 24.²² 1 Cor. 1 12.

controversial background of Paul was not in evidence. Their preacher had not been involved in the issues that stirred the Jewish Christians of Jerusalem. He was from Alexandria, and represented the spirit and method peculiar to the Alexandrian school. His gospel had a philosophical approach and was made attractive by liberal use of allegory. It is possible that his followers imitated him in their method of presenting gospel instruction, preferring the speculative method of interpretation to the plain, intense appeals, such as the Pauline faction had learned from their favorite.

To this faction were probably drawn some of Paul's former converts, who, while strongly attached to their spiritual father, nevertheless preferred the more attractive gospel of Apollos. Others, especially Gentile Christians whose vices Paul had rebuked, perhaps joined the Greek converts who loved philosophy and reinforced the party. It is not probable that there was much friction between the champions of Paul and Apollos. Their differences, while far reaching, were based partly on taste and personal preferences, and the variation in doctrine did not effect a wide cleavage. No doubt the leaders of the Apollos party accepted Paul's rebuke in 1 Corinthians in good spirit.²³ It is possible that Apollos himself, in some way, lent his influence to discourage the factional spirit at Corinth.

Our data concerning the leaders of the Cephas faction are different, and they are meagre. There is no probability that Peter had ever visited Corinth previous to the trouble with the factions. Nor is it probable that Paul's Jewish converts in Corinth had as much interest in Peter as in Paul. They had neither seen Peter nor heard him preach. We must look to outside influences, possibly to Antioch, for the main strength of the Cephas faction in Corinth. Jews from Palestine were frequently moving about or locating in the Graeco-Roman world. It would not be surprising if Jewish Christians who had either known Peter or were familiar with his work had come to settle in Corinth. They would, like the apostles at Jerusalem,²⁴ continue to observe the Jewish ritual law, and

²³ 1 Cor. 3 4—4 6.

²⁴ Acts 11 1-3.

would be opposed to Paul's concessions to the Gentile Christians. In a situation where parties were rallying around the name of a favorite apostle, it is natural that those who still observed the Jewish ritual law and opposed Paul's concessions to the Gentiles would adopt the name of the well-known Apostle Peter. Whether Peter himself in any other way than by his example encouraged Jewish Christians in the Hellenic provinces to observe the ritual law, we cannot be sure. His conduct at Antioch,²⁵ however, in withdrawing from the uncircumcised Gentile Christians may indicate that he was not wholly passive in his resistance to Paul's anti-legalism.

Who were the leaders of the Christ faction? 1 Corinthians is indefinite on this point. Clement of Rome, who was familiar with this letter does not even recognize the existence of such a party. About 42 or 43 years after Paul wrote 1 Corinthians Clement addressed the church in a lengthy letter. He referred to the early factions thus: *ἐπ' ἀληθείας πνευματικῶς ἐπέστειλεν ὑμῖν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ Κηφᾶ τε καὶ Ἀπολλώ, διὰ τὸ καὶ τότε προσκλίσεις ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι.*²⁶ 2 Corinthians recognizes the Christ faction to the practical exclusion of all the others. Like the leaders of the Cephas party, the leaders of the Christ faction were Jews. They had come from abroad, evidently from Palestine. They have the characteristics of the most extreme element in the Jerusalem church, the same element that opposed Paul²⁷ so earnestly when he sought the freedom of the Gentile Christians from the Jewish ceremonial law. It is the same Judaizing element as was represented in the delegation sent by James to Antioch²⁸ to insist that all Jewish Christians should observe the ceremonial food laws, and refuse to eat with the uncircumcised. They sent emissaries to visit the churches of Galatia, in an effort to compel the Gentile Christians there to observe the Jewish law. Wherever Paul established Gentile churches, there emissaries followed him, and attempted to destroy Gentile Christianity as Paul conceived

²⁵ Gal. 2 11-13.

²⁶ 1 epistula Clementis, 47 s. Ed. minor Patrum Apostolicorum, Gerhard, Harnack, Zahn, S. 26.

²⁷ Gal. 2 3-5.

²⁸ Ibid. 2 12.

it. They arrived at Corinth during Paul's absence at Ephesus. It was a group of men from Judea, claiming to teach the gospel as Jesus taught it. They assumed superiority over Paul, claiming close relations with James and the Twelve, and the mother church at Jerusalem. On the other hand this claim was far from well-warranted. Paul's strenuous effort to raise the general collection for the poor in the Jerusalem church indicates his interest in the Christian work at Jerusalem.²⁹ He was thus carrying out an agreement he had made with James, Peter, and John. Conversely, there is no reason to believe that James or the Twelve promoted the propaganda for the circumcision of the Gentile Christians. One might have expected that the party cries would have been 'Εγὼ μὲν εἰμι Παύλου, 'Εγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλώ, 'Εγὼ δὲ Κηφᾶ, 'Εγὼ δὲ Ἰακώβου. Paul speaks of the happy fellowship that Peter at Antioch enjoyed with the Gentile Christians, saying, *πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἐλθεῖν τινὰς ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν συνήσθιεν. ὅτε δὲ ἦλθον, ὑπέστειλεν καὶ ἀφώριζεν ἑαυτόν, φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς.*³⁰ The later Ebionites certainly exalted James above all the apostles.³¹ But the use of his great name by the Judaizers at Corinth is precluded by the more liberal attitude of James toward Gentile Christianity in his agreement with Paul at Jerusalem. Paul says: *καὶ γνόντες τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθείσάν μοι, Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάνης, οἱ δοκοῦντες στυλοὶ εἶναι, δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν ἐμοὶ καὶ Βαρνάβᾳ κοινωνίας, ἵνα ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν περιτομήν.*³² Freedom from the law for Gentile Christians was recognized by James, and Paul's gospel for the Gentiles was endorsed.

There was left, however, a still greater name which the Judaizers at Corinth invoked in their party cry 'Εγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ.³³ They did not claim him as their personal party leader. He had been crucified a quarter of a century before. But like the followers of Paul, "of Christ" meant to them imitators of him whose name they exalted. They seem to have

²⁹ Gal. 2 10.

³⁰ Ibid. 2 12.

³¹ Gospel according to the Hebrews, Jerome de Vir. Illustr. 2

³² Gal. 2 9.

³³ 1 Cor. 1 12.

known Christ in the flesh. They knew him as one born under the law and obedient to the law. They were therefore imitators of him, not as the spiritual Christ, but as the minister of circumcision, and adherent of the Law of Moses. They presented a strong appeal. It divided the church at Antioch, almost won over the churches of Galatia, and for a time drove Paul from Corinth. Paul could not refute their claim to be imitators of Christ. So far as externals were concerned, they had a more convincing argument than did Paul. But his effective reply lifted the issue from the low level of the law of carnal commandments to the high plane of spiritual life. He too was "of Christ." And he appealed to all the Corinthian Christians *μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε, καθὼς καὶ γὼ Χριστοῦ.*

CHAPTER X

THE JUDAIZING POINT OF VIEW.

It is impossible to form a correct judgment of men and motives through an antagonist's statement of their position and characteristics. The accounts we possess of the Palestinian Judaizers and their work during the apostolic age have been written largely by Paul and his associate, Luke. In the light of this information, it is difficult to find any grounds to justify the conduct of these opponents of the Apostle Paul. Constantly harassed by them, his reputation attacked, and his life work threatened, Paul used harsh terms in his numerous references to them, and to their methods of procedure. Such epithets as *κατάσκοποι*,¹ *ψευδάδελφοι*,² *ψευδαπόστολοι*,³ *ἐργάται δόλιοι*,⁴ *κύνες*,⁵ *κακοὶ ἐργάται*,⁴ *διάκονοι Σατανᾶς*,⁵ *καυχόμενοι*,⁶ *καταδουλοῦντες*,⁷ and other similar terms are frequently applied to them in Paul's letters. And yet these opponents were Christians. More than this, they were missionaries and ministers of the gospel. It is difficult to withhold the verdict that they were men of conscientiousness, earnestness, and honesty of purpose, when we study from their own point of view.

The Judaizers had been reared in Palestine and had always observed the ritual law. When they became Christians they were not aware that their obligations to keep this law were in any way lessened. Though disciples of Jesus, salvation to either Jew or Gentile, was, in their opinion, impossible except by strict observance of the whole Jewish law. They remembered that Jesus was circumcised, and lived his whole life within the confines of Judaism. The Twelve Apostles, and James,

¹ Verb form, Gal. 24.

² Ibid. 24.

³ 2 Cor. 11 13.

⁴ Phil. 3 2.

⁵ 2 Cor. 11 15.

⁶ Ibid. 11 18.

⁷ Ibid. 11 20.

the leader of the Jerusalem church, continued faithfully to observe the whole Jewish law after the death of Jesus. Tradition says that James was called, even by the non-Christian Jews, the Just, and Oblias, because of his fidelity to the Jewish ordinances. Eusebius⁸ has preserved for us a fragment about James which shows the earnest sincerity of this early Christian leader in keeping the Law: ἀκριβέστατά γε μὴν τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ἠγήσιππος, ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης τῶν ἀποστόλων γενόμενος διαδοχῆς, ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ αὐτοῦ ὑπομνήματι τοῦτον λέγων ἱστορεῖ τὸν τρόπον » διαδέχεται τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ κυρίου Ἰάκωβος, ὁ ὀνομασθεὶς ὑπὸ πάντων δίκαιος ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ κυρίου χρόνων μέχρι καὶ ἡμῶν ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ Ἰάκωβοι ἐκαλοῦντο, οὗτος δὲ ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ἅγιος ἦν, οἶνον καὶ σίκερα οὐκ ἔπιεν οὐδὲ ἔμψυχον ἔφαγεν ξυρὸν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἔλαιον οὐκ ἠλείψατο, καὶ βαλανεῖον οὐκ ἐχρήσατο. τούτῳ μόνῳ ἔξῃν εἰς τὰ ἅγια εἰσιέναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔρεοῦν ἐφόρει ἀλλὰ σινδόνας. καὶ μόνος εἰσῆρχετο εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἡγύρισκετό τε κείμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασιν καὶ αἰτούμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ ἄφεσιν, ὡς ἀπεσκληκέναι τὰ γόνατα αὐτοῦ δίκην καμήλου, διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ κάμπτειν ἐπὶ γόνυ προσκυνοῦντα τῷ θεῷ καὶ αἰτεῖσθαι ἄφεσιν τῷ λαῷ διὰ γέ τοι τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ δίκαιος καὶ ὠβλίᾶς,⁹ ὃ ἔστι Ἑλληνιστὶ περιοχὴ τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ δικαιοσύνη ὡς οἱ προφῆται¹⁰ δηλοῦσιν περὶ αὐτοῦ . . . »

While the above is an overdrawn account of the second century,

⁸ H. E. II. 23 3-7.

⁹ ὠβλίᾶς: "probably a corruption of the Heb. עֲבָדִי עַמִּי which signifies bulwark of the people." McGiffert, footnote to Eusebius *in loco* p. 125. The Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers. Prof. Torrey says the original reading was certainly ΩΒΑΙΑΣ not ΩΒΛΙΑΣ. It would then be a corruption for יְהוֹדָה Sep. 'Obdías or 'Abdías, the spelling with Ω being common. In Josephus 8: 134 and 5, the MSS. have only 'Ωβδελas. The name means "Servant of Jahweh". "James is compared with the Obadiah of 1 Kings 18, who was the a 'shepherd' of the 100 prophets in the days of Ahab, as James was the head of the apostolic Church. The early Christians identified this Obadiah with the Prophet, and the Jewish tradition also made the former a prophet." Torrey.

¹⁰ See Jer. 6 27 יְצַבֵּן יְהוָה יְהוֹדָה יְהוֹדָה. Here may be an allusion to the firm pillar and strong wall in Apoc. of Baruch 2 2; also to the intercession of Moses for his people, in Assump. of Moses, 11 17. But the allusion of Hegesippus is at best vague.

transforming a Pharisaic James of the Bible to an "Essenic and ascetic"¹¹ hero, the legalistic loyalty of the man is evident.

When Paul obtained the great concession from the church at Jerusalem that he should be permitted to conduct his missionary work without requiring the Gentile Christians to observe the Jewish ritual, there was determined opposition in that church to the concession. So earnest were the adherents of circumcision for all Christians that they could not in good conscience feel themselves bound by the action of the leaders. Such Gentile Christianity as Paul preached, was, in their judgment, dangerous and subversive of the real purpose of the gospel. Paul was regarded by them as a heretic; in truth he was an innovator of a radical type, destroying religious customs that had the sanction of many centuries. These Judaizing Christians heard of Paul's work at Antioch, where Jews and Gentiles were worshiping together in direct violation of the Levitical food laws. The Judaizers also learned that in Galatia and wherever Paul journeyed he entered into the Jewish synagogue and preached his new doctrine in such a way as to convince Jews that Christianity meant freedom from the ceremonial law.¹² That there was truth in this report was evident from the fact that Paul was everywhere considered a traitor by the non-Christian Jews, who tried repeatedly to kill him.¹³ His letters give frequent intimations of the evils he suffered from this source.¹⁴ In Palestine Paul's conduct was identified with that of his extreme followers, whose antinomian practices had everywhere shocked the Jews. Such anti-Judaism on Paul's part was certain to be considered dangerous and to provoke serious opposition among some of the Jewish Christians. The incident at Antioch¹⁵ was sufficient to arouse Paul's opponents to action. They saw that Paul was establishing in the Gentile field a type of Christianity different from the original. He was setting at nought God's commands given as far back as the time of Abraham, and was in an essential

¹¹ Schaff, Church History, Vol. 1, p. 268.

¹² Acts 21 20, 21.

¹⁴ 2 Cor. 11 24-26.

¹³ Ibid. 14 19; 17 5, 13; 18 12; 20 3.

¹⁵ Gal. 2 12.

manner ignoring or even opposing God's chosen people. Paul's success would mean to the Jews what it meant to the Ephesian worshipers of Diana¹⁶ — the destruction of their sacred religion. The Judaizers were as conscientious in opposing Paul from religious motives as Paul himself had formerly been in persecuting the Christians.¹⁷

To the strong religious motive of opposition to Paul must also be added a less worthy one, personal animosity. The Judaizers had not only been thoroughly aroused by his stinging rebukes at Antioch, but also had been humiliated by Paul at Jerusalem. Paul's method of refuting their position was not one of conciliation. Seeing clearly the necessity of Jews and Gentiles having fellowship with each other, and disappointed over the defection of Peter and Barnabas, Paul condemned Peter and the messengers from Jerusalem.¹⁸ That such a one as Paul, therefore, should go unchallenged throughout the Gentile world, winning some Jews and many Gentiles to his position, was more than the Judaizers could endure. Vital principles were at stake. They, therefore, felt impelled, for the sake of the religion they loved, to organize their forces and send emissaries to Paul's field of labor, to counteract his hurtful influence.

It is easy to get their point of view. Their mission was not to found new churches, but to preach, as they understood it, the original gospel of Jesus. They claimed to represent Christ. They were seeking, and in spite of their spirit and method, let us say conscientiously seeking, to secure for Paul's partially enlightened Gentile Christians, the privileges and blessings of the Abrahamic covenant. One goal they had in mind. All Gentiles who became Christians must be circumcised and observe the Jewish ritual law. There was no being saved without circumcision.¹⁹ It does not appear that the Judaizers were insistent upon all the details of their law. They did not emphasize minutiae. After the pronouncement of the Pillars against them in their test-case of Titus, even circumcision could

¹⁶ Acts 19 25-26.

¹⁷ Ibid. 23 1; 26 9-11.

¹⁸ Gal. 2 14.

¹⁹ Acts 15 1.

not be insisted on as a condition of salvation. The Judaizers were content, at least in their initial visits, to have the Gentiles adopt their ritualism theoretically, leaving to the future a strict compliance with its requirements.

The efforts of the Judaizers in Galatia were not featured by personal attacks upon Paul. They relied upon the strength of their position and the righteousness of their cause. Failing by such methods, they became convinced that the only way to succeed was by first destroying the powerful influence of Paul over his converts. This had to be done before they could effectively preach their own interpretation of the gospel. Hence, when they arrived at Corinth, they did not begin by demanding that all Gentile Christians be circumcised, (the case of Titus made this really impracticable) but by denying Paul's right to the apostolic office and by speaking depreciatingly of his personality.²⁰

²⁰ 2 Cor. 10—13.

CHAPTER XI

PAUL'S DEFENCE OF GENTILE CHRISTIANITY.

Paul's view point is also clear. One might see in his strong language mere retaliation, aggravated by the persistent and ungracious opposition of his opponents. But Paul could endure worse than that. He is much more charitable to the men who beat him and imprisoned him. No, it was Paul's life work that was threatened. The very existence of Gentile Christianity was endangered, and this accounts for his *ad hominem* argument in dealing with his opponents.

When Paul first preached to the Gentiles, his great themes were the contrasts between this world and the next, the flesh and the spirit, death and life.¹ His effort was an adjustment whereby Jewish and Gentile Christians could enter into fellowship with each other. But the Jews and the Judaizers forced the issue of the ritual law upon him,² and he was compelled to undertake an anti-Jewish apologetic in behalf of Gentile Christianity. Before the exposition of his new doctrine, there came the direct conflict in actual experience. First, he was driven from the synagogues of the Diaspora where he preached and drew with him a following to whom he interpreted the Old Testament in reference to Christianity in a way that was unacceptable to the Jews.³ Then, in defence of his Gentile gospel he was compelled to antagonize members of the church at Jerusalem in his effort to win for his followers liberty from the Jewish ritual law.⁴ Then came the occurrence at Antioch, where, under the stress of strong opposition, he had to oppose the Apostle Peter in an effort to obtain the fellowship of

¹ Acts 13 16—14 19.

² Ibid. 15 1-5.

³ Ibid. 13 43; 14 19.

⁴ Ibid. 15 6, 7.

Jewish Christians with the uncircumcised Gentile Christians.⁵ Next he had to defend his title as the Apostle to the Gentiles. When his opponents invaded his own fields of labor with a propaganda that threatened the very life of Gentile Christianity, Paul met them with all the unflinching courage his rugged character could command. It called forth from him denunciations of the Judaizers in stern language and vigorous assertions of the dignity and importance of his own work and mission. And even after he had successfully defended his gospel against the Judaizers, he had to face another and more powerful enemy, the non-Christian Jews. By them he was frequently attacked, beaten, stoned, and imprisoned. He was maligned, denounced as an apostate, and plotted against until his death. So much for the actual struggle in which Paul was constantly engaged in defence of his gospel.

The natural result of such a conflict led Paul to state, apologetically, his theory of Gentile Christianity. That theory was, in short, salvation of the Gentiles without the observance of the Jewish ritual law. The first great argument produced by Paul in defence of his theory was the annulment of this law. The issue was first squarely faced at the meeting of the Jerusalem conference. It was faced again when Paul and Peter met at Antioch. Paul then raised the question as to how even Jewish Christians are saved. He maintained it was either by Christ or the Jewish law, but not by both.⁶ If a man could be saved by the observance of the Jewish law, then there was no need of the death of Christ.⁷ Paul placed the law in the category of human enemies, — the Law, sin and death,⁸ from all of which Christ died to set us free. With Paul, redemption could be achieved without obedience to the Jewish rite of circumcision and food laws. His great task, henceforth, was to present this new truth to the world.

Paul declared that the ritual law had fulfilled its mission; and owing to the arrival of a new dispensation, had expired by natural limitations.⁹ Though believing it was divine, he did

⁵ Gal. 2 11-14.

⁶ Ibid. 2 15, 16.

⁷ Ibid. 2 21.

⁸ Rom. 8 2.

⁹ Gal. 3 13.

not believe that it, of itself, provided salvation.¹⁰ It did not free men from sin, nor did it develop the true type of religion — of love, and trust in God. It was "weak through the flesh".¹¹

Another question Paul had to settle was, how to get rid of the obligation to this ritual law of the Jews. This is done, he taught, by Christ. Being from heaven, and hence free from that law, he voluntarily subjected himself to it, that he might thereby free us from it. Being sinless, Christ died for our sins, and suffered the curse of the law. This was in itself proof of the fallibility of the law and thus set us free.

We are free from the law, because dead to it,¹² having given our salvation into another's keeping.

After annulling the law, Paul proceeds to preach justification by faith. God does not owe man his reward because he has observed certain ritual laws.¹³ God offers man, through grace, the gift of His love. The proper attitude toward that love on the part of man is faith. God, then, through His love and by His spirit, possesses the man. New motives impel the individual. Paul himself experienced this at his conversion. Therefore, whenever Paul had to defend Gentile Christianity against the champions of legalistic Judaism, he fell back upon his personal experience in order to maintain his position.¹⁴

By justification, Paul had in mind the Judgment Day, sentence of eternal life or eternal punishment given by God. But the verdict of life is anticipated at the time when the Christian's career begins, with the result that sinners are at conversion proleptically accounted justified, forgiven, and hence free from sin and the fear of eternal punishment. Therefore, in his controversy with the Judaizers, he opposes justification by ceremonial acts with justification by faith in Christ, and urges it as a substitute for circumcision for entrance into the elect community. This doctrine Paul seeks to prove by the Old Testament. Righteousness and faith are juxtaposed in Genesis 15 and Habakkuk 2. The fact that Abraham was justified by faith several centuries before the law was given, and that in Abraham's

¹⁰ Gal. 2 16.

¹¹ Rom. 8 14.

¹² Gal. 3 13.

¹³ Rom. 4 4.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 8 10-25.

case, it even antedated circumcision, added weight to Paul's argument. With Paul's opponents, the argument from antiquity was not in vain. Paul even resorted to the rabbinical method of interpretation, with which he was familiar, by using Deuteronomy 30 12-14 in defence of his gospel of freedom.¹⁵ In spite of the formalism of Paul's dialectic, it was the fact that he was contending for a world-wide gospel against the nationalistic conception of the Jews. His gospel is the religion of the Spirit. He substituted faith in Christ for works of law to Jews and Gentiles alike. Salvation is by grace, the free gift of God, entirely independent of legal observances. If the church has since formulated a new legalism, it is not the fault of Paul's original conception of redemption.

The Judaizers found another vulnerable point in Paul's new gospel: abrogation of the law would lead to license in sin.¹⁶ The moral standards of the church would be lowered. To meet this, Paul carefully explained his doctrine of freedom. Freedom in Christ means also sonship to God. This means that the new life is prompted from within, not from without. God gives His Spirit, and this Spirit in the Christian guides the life better than did the law. *ὁ δὲ καρπὸς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐστὶν ἀγάπη, χαρά, εἰρήνη, μακροθυμία, χρηστότης, ἀγαθωσύνη, πίστις, πραῦτης, ἐγκράτεια· κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἔστιν νόμος. οἱ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τὴν σάρκα ἐσταύρωσαν σὺν τοῖς παθήμασιν καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις.*¹⁷ Therefore Paul maintained that the new freedom, far from giving license to commit sin, triumphs over sin by destroying the tendency to it. The Christian in his baptism has died to sin, and has risen to the new life in Christ.¹⁸ *Τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν; ἐπιμένωμεν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, ἵνα χάρις πλεονάσῃ; μὴ γένοιτο· οἷτινες ἀπεθάνομεν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, πῶς ἔτι ζήσομεν ἐν αὐτῇ; ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι ὅσοι ἐβαπτίσθημεν εἰς Χριστὸν (Ἰησοῦν) εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθημεν; συνετάφημεν οὖν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἰς τὸν θάνατον ἵνα ὥσπερ ἠγέρθη Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς, οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν καὶνότητι ζωῆς περιπατήσομεν.*¹⁹ Freedom in the spirit therefore means

¹⁵ Rom. 10 5-8.¹⁸ Rom. 6 4.¹⁶ Ibid. 6 2.¹⁹ Ibid. 6 1-4.¹⁷ Gal. 5 22-24. Rom. 8 14.

only freedom to do God's will. The free life consists of voluntary service to humanity, in freedom from sin. The Christian is under the dispensation of grace, not law.²⁰ In other words, the obligation is there, but instead of being enforced by external enactments, the Christian who had accepted the spiritual interpretation of the gospel had the highest ethical views of Christianity, and maintained a course of conduct consistent with their teaching.

To sum up Paul's defence of Gentile Christianity, the true gospel cannot be confined by the laws of Israel to reduce it to a mere tribal religion, bound by all the customs and national standards of the Jews. To realize the ideals of Jesus, it must throw off all local characteristics and limitations. This at once raised Christianity to the status of a world religion and to the Apostle Paul belongs much of the credit for this broader interpretation.

²⁰ Rom. 6 14.

CHAPTER XII

THE OUTCOME OF THE FACTIONS AT CORINTH.

Paul sent his severe letter to the church at Corinth by the hand of Titus.¹ He was anxious concerning its reception. He left Ephesus for Troas, where he found a good opportunity to preach the gospel. Impatient, however, over Titus' delay, Paul journeyed into Macedonia to meet him, and there learned from him with gratification about the action taken by the church on receiving his letter. The Apostle immediately wrote to the church another letter, 2 Corinthians 1—9, and from this we learn something about the outcome of the factions.

Paul writes in a happy frame of mind, like one just relieved from a great strain. He refers to his severe letter, written in anguish and tears, and rejoices that the church has expressed such deep regret over his ill treatment while he was last with them.² They have punished the great offender who had insulted and defied Paul,³ not so severely perhaps, as Paul had recommended, and as his own particular friends had insisted upon. But since the outcome is satisfactory, Paul urges forgiveness to the offender; and that he be comforted and loved again.⁴ One of Paul's objects in writing the previous letter had been to test their obedience to him.⁵ So relieved is he at the happy result that he is now willing to forgive all.

Apparently the Judaizing missionaries have left the church. Paul's manner of writing indicates that they are no longer present in Corinth.

Paul, rejoicing over their defeat and his triumph, can now speak of the church itself as his letter of commendation to all

¹ 2 Cor. 2 12, 13; 8 16, 17. ² Ibid. 2 1-4. ³ Ibid. 2 5, 6. ⁴ Ibid. 2 7, 8.
⁵ Ibid. 2 9; 7 12.

the world.⁶ The Judaizers, unable to break down Paul's influence over the church, had not been able to change the doctrinal views of the members who temporarily yielded to their propaganda. For this reason, the issue raised by them could not be kept alive. The difficulty created by them resulted only in a transient disturbance, incident to a people whose temperament is volatile, and yet whose inherent love of fair play is sure to readjust itself in the interest of love and truth. They had listened to an eloquent arraignment of their beloved apostle, by men who arrogated to themselves and to their constituency superior credentials and a truer presentation of the gospel. The Corinthians' minds had been open to suggestions of doubt as to Paul's sincerity and as to the genuineness of the gospel they had accepted. They had only been wavering, but that was sufficient to arouse Paul to the imminent danger of losing the ground in Corinth he had already gained. The apology for it all is that the church was young and immature. The way in which they afterward made Paul rejoice covers their serious defects, which, on closer survey, appear still less prominent in the finished picture. When the confidence of the wavering ones was re-established the church was renewed in strength and ready for a program of advance.⁷

A few months later Paul fulfilled his plan of spending the winter in Corinth.⁸ He had intended to sail from thence to Syria, but owing to a plot laid against him by the Jews, he went to Macedonia. From thence he sailed for Syria via Miletus, enroute to Jerusalem,⁹ with the collection for the poor Christians in that city. Representatives of his various churches accompanied him, but so far as we know, none from Corinth.¹⁰ Additional data concerning the relations of Paul and the church at Corinth are not given in the New Testament.

Forty years later, however, the peace of the church was again disturbed. Clement¹¹ of Rome addressed a long letter to the Corinthians in which it is evident that with certain ones the love of faction still remained. He refers to them as

⁶ 2 Cor. 3 2. ⁷ Ibid. 8; 9. ⁸ Acts 20 2, 3. ⁹ Ibid. 20 3, 17; 21 17.

¹⁰ Acts 20 4, 5. ¹¹ 7 1; 14 1; 47, 48 1.

ambitious busybodies who were disturbing the peace. He urges them to end the conflict, not by being excommunicated, but by voluntarily departing from Corinth.¹¹ According to Clement, there was at Corinth, about 96 A. D., a large, flourishing church, leading a normal life in subordination to its officers. There is no trace of influence left by the Judaizing faction; it is only the younger element asserting itself against the elder.¹² Clement writes appreciatively of the church as able to imitate the Pauline hymn of love addressed to them. τὸ ὕψος, εἰς ὃ ἀνάγει ἡ ἀγάπη, ἀνεκδιήγητόν ἐστιν. ἀγάπη κολλᾷ ἡμᾶς τῷ θεῷ, ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν ἀγάπη πάντα ἀνέχεται, πάντα μακροθυμεῖ . . . ἀγάπη σχίσμα οὐκ ἔχει, ἀγάπη οὐ στασιάζει, ἀγάπη πάντα ποιεῖ ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ.¹³ The letter shows that the church was familiar with 1 Corinthians, and that Paul was held in high esteem.

¹² 3 3.¹³ 49 4, 5.

PART III

DISCUSSION OF THE SOURCE MATERIAL FOR LATER JEWISH CHRISTIANITY.

CHAPTER XIII

THE WRITINGS OF JUSTIN MARTYR AND HEGESIPPUS.

What was the final outcome of the Judaizing faction, that, beginning at Jerusalem, extended its operations to Antioch, Galatia, and Corinth? To follow the subsequent developments of this party it will be necessary, first, to study the literary material dealing with the theme. From the time of Paul, the faction was regarded as heretical. We seek therefore our information chiefly in the contemporary discussions dealing with the various Christian heresies.

The earliest of these is found in the writings of Justin Martyr. This author, in his *Dialogue with Trypho*¹ mentions two kinds of Jewish Christians. He does not condemn either group as heretics, but to one he gives censure. His treatise is conciliatory, hence there is in it no place for severe denunciation.² He never mentions Paul, nor does he quote his letters. He defines a Jewish Christian as one who believes on Christ, and yet observes, in addition, the Law of Moses. If such a one ceases to observe the Law, he is no longer a Jewish Christian nor a Jew.³ So, also, a Gentile Christian who is circumcised, becomes thereby a full-blooded Jew. In answer to Trypho's question as to whether a Jewish Christian will be blessed, if he holds to circumcision, sabbath keeping, and laws of purification, Justin replies in the affirmative, provided such

¹ Ch. 47, 48.

² Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergeschichte*, S. 21.

³ Harnack, *Judenthum und Juden-Christenthum in Justin's Dialog mit Trypho*, S. 84.

a Jewish Christian does not teach the Gentile Christians that they cannot be saved unless they likewise observe the Law. And Justin states that there are such Jewish Christians who refuse the fellowship of intercourse and of hearth to Gentile Christians unless they observe the Law. He does not agree with such insistence, and thinks the fellowship should be granted irrespective of Law observance. He says:⁴

ἐὰν δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους τοῦ ὑμετέρου πιστεύειν λέγοντες ἐπὶ τούτων τὸν Χριστὸν, ὃ Τρύφων, ἔλεγον, ἐκ παντὸς κατὰ τὸν διὰ Μωσέως διαταχθέντα νόμον ἀναγκάζουσι ζῆν τοὺς ἐξ ἐθνῶν πιστεύοντας ἐπὶ τούτων τὸν Χριστὸν ἢ μὴ κοινωνεῖν αὐτοῖς τῆς τοιαύτης συνδιαγωγῆς αἰροῦνται, ὁμοίως καὶ τούτους οὐκ ἀποδέχομαι.

Justin's teaching concerning Jewish Christians may be summarized as follows:⁵

(1) There are Jewish Christians who recognize Gentile Christians only on condition that they observe the Law. Justin does not regard them as brethren.

(2) There are Jewish Christians who recognize Gentile Christians without the Law, and are willing to fraternize with them, although observing the Law themselves. Justin recognizes such, though as weak brethren, while the majority of Gentile Christians wish to know nothing of them, believing that Law observance should not be mentioned in a Christian brotherhood.

(3) There are Gentile Christians, who, in given cases, do not exalt Christ, but become Jews, thinking thus to remain true to God. They must repent or be lost.

(4) There are Gentile Christians who have been persuaded to keep the Law, but do not preach it to others. They will be saved.

(5) Jews living before Christ will be saved without him, but not those of today.

It is important to note that in the entire Dialogue, not a word is said about Gnostic Jews.

⁴ Ch. 47 3.

⁵ Harnack, *Judenthum und Juden-Christentum in Justin's Dialog mit Trypho*, S. 87.

Justin declares that some Jews recognize Jesus as the true Messiah, but deny that he had pre-existence as *θεὸς πρὸ αἰώνων*, afterwards becoming man.⁶ They hold that his human birth was natural. With such Justin does not agree. We learn here that certain Jewish Christians reject the higher Christology and hold that the Messiah is a chosen human, in harmony with the adoptionist Christology.⁷

It is to be regretted that Justin, in this great discussion, is silent concerning the location of the Jewish Christians he had in mind. One suspects that they were far away from the center of Justin's activity.

We learn, however, elsewhere, that our author wrote another work of a more polemical nature. *Ἔστι δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ σύνταγμα κατὰ πασῶν τῶν γεγενημένων αἱρέσεων συντεταγμένον. ᾧ εἰ βούλεσθε ἐντυχεῖν, δώσομεν.*⁸ This Syntagma is the oldest Christian document "against all heresies", and it served as a Grundschrift for various subsequent treatises of a similar nature. The original is lost, but may be partially restored from other works. Justin names the chief heresies in his extant writings in the following order:⁹ Simon, Menander, Marcion, Valentinus, Basilides, and Saturnilus. At the close of this list Justin adds there are others. *καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλῳ ὀνόματι, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχηγέτου τῆς γνώμης ἕκαστος ὀνομαζόμενος.*¹⁰ Presumably, these "other names" were not lacking in Justin's Syntagma.

Lipsius compares¹¹ the heresy list of Hegesippus with that of Justin, and shows that the former introduced four minor heresies into the gap of Justin between Simon and Menander; also the followers of Carpocrates between Marcion and Valentinus. Lipsius thinks that Justin's list reached complete from Simon to Marcion, while Harnack says¹² that this is

⁶ Ch. 48. ⁷ Harnack, *Judenthum und Juden-Christenthum in Justin's Dialog mit Trypho*, S. 87. ⁸ Justin, *First Apology*, 26 36-38.

⁹ Justin, *First Apology*, 26 15-26; 58 1 and *Trypho*, 35 6. ¹⁰ *Trypho*, 35 6.

¹¹ *Quellen der ältesten Ketzergeschichte, neu untersucht*, S. 25.

¹² Quoted by Lipsius in *Quellen der ältesten Ketzergeschichte, neu untersucht*, S. 9.

groundless, and an arbitrary measure (*willkürliche Maßregelung*). He thinks that Hegesippus' list is dependent upon the *Syntagma* of Justin. Lipsius thinks that Justin and Hegesippus are independent; that they differ, and each goes his own way.¹³ No one doubts that there is literary relationship between Hegesippus and the *Constitutions* in their heresy lists. The latter work introduces the name of Cerinthus before Menander in Justin and Hegesippus. It is possible, though by no means proved, that Cerinthus was in the list of Justin, and the silence of Hegesippus has not proved that Irenaeus first introduced Cerinthus' name in the West.

¹³ Lipsius, *ibid.* S. 34.

CHAPTER XIV

IRENÆUS AND HIS WRITINGS.

Irenæus wrote extensively against heresies. In his work *Adv. Hæreses*, 122; 2—274 there was probably a source from which he drew. Lipsius¹ sought to show that he used as a foundation on older work on heresies that began with Simon Magus, and ended with Marcion. Since the *Syntagma* of Justin must have reached its climax in polemic; since, in addition, Irenæus mentions a *Syntagma* of Justin against Marcion, which was perhaps identical with the first mentioned work, it seems probable that Irenæus used it, and therefore there is to be found in Irenæus the original order of Justin's heresies. The nature of the former's *Grundschrift* is in agreement with Justin. Lipsius has reached this conclusion, and with him Harnack agrees, but only by placing his construction on what Justin's list really was. Both critics believe that Irenæus used Justin up to Marcion² and that the following section³ came from another source. They also agree that the information on Marcellina and the Ebionites does not belong to the source. Harnack lists the Nicolaitans under the Ebionite sect, and hence rejects Irenæus' description of the same.⁴ But the fact that Irenæus taught⁵ that Cerinthus and the Nicolaitans agreed on one point does not justify us in classifying the latter in the Ebionite group. Irenæus placed the Nicolaitans in the Gnostic party. They were thought to be an ἀπόσπασμα τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως. There is no probability that the Nicolaitans were in the source. It would seem that Irenæus⁵ brought

¹ Lipsius, *Quellen der ältesten Ketzergeschichte, neu untersucht*, S. 25.

² *Adv. Hæc.* I. 27.³ *Ibid.* 28-31.

⁴ Lipsius, *Quellen der ältesten Ketzergeschichte, neu untersucht*, S. 38.

⁵ *Adv. Hæc.* III. 11, 1.

them into his list immediately following Cerinthus. This can hardly have been in Justin. It is possible, that, on the basis of later information concerning the Nicolaitans, which classed them with the Ophites, Hippolytus changed the order. Still other considerations seem to oppose Irenaeus' view. He got his information of the Nicolaitans from the Revelation of John.⁶ He confused⁷ the tradition of Cerinthus through the darkening of an older tradition rightly preserved by Hippolytus. Soon after Irenaeus there comes also an entirely independent tradition of Cerinthus by the Roman presbyter Gaius.⁸ The silence of Hegesippus concerning Cerinthus is no safe argument, since the completeness of his list is as little guaranteed as that of Justin in Trypho. Hegesippus was concerned, not with heretics, but with heresies. The older fathers discuss Cerinthus, but not a Cerinthian heresy (Κηριθιανὴ αἵρεσις). The latter is first found in Dionysius of Alexandria.⁹ It cannot be determined whether Cerinthus' name was in the Grundschrift or not.

Irenaeus' chief contention against Cerinthus is his error in saying that the world was not created "*a primo deo.*" *Et Cerinthus autem quidem in Asia, non a primo Deo factum esse mundum docuit, sed a virtute quadam valde separata, et distante ab ea principalitate qua est super universa, et ignorante eum qui est super omnia Deum.*¹⁰ On the other hand, Irenaeus has lined up "Gnostic Cerinthus" with the Ebionites who are at the opposite pole from the Gnostics on the unity of God. About the only thing these two groups had in common was denial of the virgin birth of Jesus. It is evident that Irenaeus did not get much of his information on these matters from Justin's Syntagma. Lipsius dissents¹¹ from Harnack's view that Cerinthus was not in the Grundschrift. Both agree that the Ebionites were first introduced by Irenaeus. He must have used as one source a list with the following succession: Simon, Menander, Saturnilus, Basilides, Valentinus' forerunner Gnostics, Valentinus, along with two disciples—Secundus and

⁶ Rev. 2 14-16.

⁷ Lipsius, *Quellen der ältesten Ketzergeschichte, neu untersucht*, S. 41.

⁸ Eusebius, *H. E.*, III. 28. ⁹ Ibid. III. 28; VII. 25. ¹⁰ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* I. 26.

¹¹ Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergeschichte*, S. 49.

"another brilliant teacher", and Marcion, in connection with Cerdon. This must have been Justin's order.¹² Then there was a gap, the forerunners of Valentinus, which Irenaeus had to fill in. In *Adv. Haer.* I. 23, 24, he mentions Simon etc. Then in I. 25, 26, he adds, as "upon loose leaves inserted", Carpocrates, Cerinthus, Ebionites, and Nicolaitans. This latter information must have come from another source than Justin. Irenaeus claims that when a very young man, in Asia, he obtained this knowledge from Polycarp.¹³ Information on the succession of the Roman bishop and the Roman sojourn of the heretics Valentinus, Cerdon, and Marcion, naturally was obtained at Rome.¹⁴ Lipsius thinks we can well guess that Irenaeus drew here from his contemporary Hegesippus, who, from the time of Anicetus to Eleutherus lived at Rome.¹⁵ It is most probable, continues Lipsius, that, considering the care with which Hegesippus wrote about the later origin of the heresies, the notice of Cerdon is to be assigned "to the fancy of the Bishop of Lyons."¹⁶

Even if Irenaeus had independent information, Rome would be the most likely place for it to be found, and it would doubtless have been used by Hegesippus. In this case there is no ground for the statements about Cerdon, at least that he was the teacher of Marcion. Irenaeus says:¹⁷ Κέρδων δὲ ὁ πρὸ Μαρκίωνος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Ὑγίνου ὃς ἦν ἑνατος ἐπίσκοπος, εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ ἐξομολογούμενος οὕτως διετετέλεσε, ποτὲ μὲν λαθροδιδασκαλῶν, ποτὲ δὲ πάλιν ἐξομολογούμενος, ποτὲ δὲ ἐλεγχόμενος ἐφ' οἷς ἐδίδασκε κακῶς καὶ ἀφιστάμενος τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν συνοδίας. Harnack traces in Irenaeus three groups: 1. Simon and those *περὶ τὸν Σίμωνα* 2. Carpocrates until Nicolaus; 3. Cerdon-Marcion. In this he also recognizes groups of heresies: 1. Simon and the Syrian Gnosis; 2. Judaizing heresies; 3. Marcion; and 4. Valentinians, whom he gives as an additional group.¹⁸ Irenaeus places Simon as father of all heretics who

¹² Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergeschichte*, S. 29.

¹³ *Adv. Haer.* III. 3 4.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* III. 3 3; 4 3.

¹⁵ Eusebius, *H. E.* IV. 11.

¹⁶ *Quellen der ältesten Ketzergeschichte, neu untersucht*, S. 44.

¹⁷ *Adv. Haer.* III. 4 3.

¹⁸ *Zur Quellenkritik der Geschichte des Gnosticismus* (Leipzig, 1873) quoted by Lipsius, in *Quellen der ältesten Ketzergeschichte*.

follow the demiurge doctrine of God, yet does not rank the Ebionites among them. He attributes Gnosticism to all others, including Cerdon, Cerinthus, and the Nicolaitans.¹⁹ On the other hand, he lists the Ebionites as heretics, not, apparently on account of their Judaizing tendencies, but because of their low Christology. The addition of the Ebionites as a peculiar class of heretics was not responsible for the taking on of Cerinthus, but on the contrary the rubric for Cerinthus, already present, has permitted the addition of the Ebionites.²⁰

The text of Irenaeus in his classification of heresies certainly ignores chronological accuracy. Note, for example,²¹ that the Cerinthus opposed by the Apostle John is older than Saturnilus, Basilides, and Carpocrates. Yet, according to Irenaeus, Cerinthus first finds his place *behind* Carpocrates, and therefore is viewed as younger than those mentioned. Harnack also understands *Adv. Haer.* III. 1 1 to mean²² that the Nicolaitans rejected the unity of God much earlier than did Cerinthus. Irenaeus cites an unnamed Elder²³ of Asia Minor in opposition to the heresies, and one suspects that he got at least a part of his lists from that Elder.

To sum up, Irenaeus certainly did use the writings of Justin Martyr. Compare *Adv. Haer.* I. 23 1 with *I Apol.* 26. Also *Adv. Haer.* III. 2, 3 with *I Apol.* I. 12. It is probable (Harnack) that he used the Syntagma for the older portions of his list, although Lipsius thinks he used it only indirectly, through a later revision. He thinks it better to view the entire section of I. 22—27 as one block, along with the data in 11 and 12, all coming from a later source, partly based upon Justin. It would at least seem certain that the information about Carpocrates,²⁴ and the notices about Cerinthus came from a source later than Justin.

¹⁹ Lipsius, *Quellen der ältesten Ketzergeschichte, neu untersucht*, S. 46.

²⁰ Note Irenaeus description of the Ebionites (*Adv. Haer.* I. 26) following immediately after the remarks on Cerinthus (I. 25).

²¹ *Adv. Haer.* III. 4 3.

²² Quoted by Lipsius, *Quellen der ältesten Ketzergeschichte, neu untersucht*, S. 57.

²³ *Adv. Haer.* IV.

²⁴ *Adv. Haer.* I. 25 3 to end of the chapter.

CHAPTER XV

TERTULLIAN AND HIS WRITINGS ON HERESY.

Tertullian wrote against heresies also. It is easy to trace most of his information to Irenaeus as his chief source. With the exception of his first six chapters, his entire polemic against Valentinus is taken from Irenaeus. Chapters 7—32 are based upon Irenaeus *Adv. Haer.* Ch. 1—7, while 33—39 in Tertullian are dependent upon Irenaeus I. 11, 2—12, 4. In Chapter 5, Tertullian speaks of the contemporary opponents of heresy, among whom are *Justinus philosophus et martyr, ut Miltiades, ecclesiarum sophista, ut Irenaeus omnium doctrinarum curiosissimus explorator, ut Proculus*. This indicates that Tertullian knew of Justin's *Syntagma*, but there is no evidence that he used it. This is the only time he mentions Justin in his polemic against Valentinus and his followers, and when he departs from Irenaeus as his source, he deals only with the later developments of the school. If we inquire about his "other source", we must choose between Miltiades and Proculus, probably the latter, since he was the later of the two, and being a Montanist, would stand nearer to Tertullian.

Since Tertullian's mention of heretics, aside from Marcion and Valentinus, is merely incidental, we are not surprised to find that he fails to mention Cerinthus.²

In his discussion of the Ebionites, Tertullian certainly did not draw from Irenaeus. The name Ebion, used by Tertullian, is not found in Irenaeus. Neither does Tertullian's discussion of the Ebionite Christology come from Irenaeus, who only says that in general the Ebionites taught about Christ as did

¹ Lipsius, *Quellenkritik der ältesten Ketzergeschichte*, S. 65.

² Ibid. S. 68.

Cerinthus. Tertullian says:³ *poterit haec opinio H. bioni convenire, qui nudum hominem et tantum ex semine David, id est, non et dei filium constituit Jesum; plane prophetis aliquo gloriosiore ut ita in illo angelum fuisse edicat quemadmodum in Zacharia.* This sounds much like the Syntagma of Hippolytus, who also mentions Ebion as the founder of the sect.⁴

We conclude, with Lipsius, against Harnack, that wherever Tertullian discusses the heresies of Irenaeus, with the single exception of the writing against Marcion, he never goes back to Justin, but that Irenaeus himself is his chief source.⁵

³ *De Carne Christi*, 14.

⁴ See the common source of Pilastrius, *haer.* 37 and Epiphanius, *haer.* XXX. 18.

⁵ *Quellenkritik der ältesten Ketzergeschichte*, S. 83.

CHAPTER XVI

HIPPOLYTUS AND HIS SOURCES.

WE now come to Hippolytus. He wrote a *Syntagma* against the 32 heresies. This lost document is important, since it was, as we shall see later, the source for Epiphanius, Philastrius, and Pseudo-Tertullian. Hippolytus' *Syntagma* began with the Dositheans, and ended with the Noetians.¹ Photius informs us that the work according to Hippolytus himself, is based upon that of Irenaeus.

The time of composition of this *Syntagma* must have been during the episcopate of Zephyrinus (199–217). Since no sects are mentioned later than the Noetians, the work could not belong to a later date. Hippolytus composed the *Philosophumena*² about 225 to 235. In this he mentions his other book written *πάλαι*, long ago, thus indicating an earlier date. Irenaeus wrote, no doubt, in Gaul, about 180.³ Hippolytus has names in his list not found in Irenaeus. Harnack agrees with Lipsius⁴ that Hippolytus wrote about 200–205. Both critics also agree that Hippolytus was taught by Irenaeus, not in Asia Minor, but in Gaul⁴ after which the former went to Rome, and subsequently wrote his *Syntagma*. Lipsius believes he was far from Rome⁵ when he composed the work, possibly in Asia Minor. At least his discussion of the Asia Minor heretics shows that he got that part of his information independently of Irenaeus. This is especially true in his mention of Cerinthus.

¹ Photius, *Bibliotheca* 121 quoted by Lipsius, S. 91.

² Lipsius, *Quellenkritik*, etc. S. 137.

³ Gustav Krüger, article *Irenaeus*, Enc. Brit. 11 ed. Vol. XIV. p. 791.

⁴ Lipsius, *Quellenkritik der ältesten Ketzergeschichte*, S. 138.

⁵ Ibid. S. 156.

What, then, were the sources of Hippolytus' work? Both Irenaeus and Hippolytus used Justin Martyr's *Syntagma*.⁶ Then Hippolytus used Irenaeus, not as a written document, but as an oral source.⁷ This is shown by the variations in many sections, as on Marcion and the Ophite parties. That Hippolytus did get certain material from Irenaeus is proved from certain fragments against Noetus.

Compare Noetus 10 with Iren. *Adv. Haer.* IV. 20 2, 4.

<p>πάντα γὰρ τὰ γεγόμενα διὰ λόγου καὶ σοφίας τεχνάζεται, λόγω μὲν κτίζων, σοφία δὲ κοσμῶν.</p>	<p><i>Qui omnia Verbo fecit et sa- pientia adornavit. Unus igitur deus, qui Verbo et sapientia fecit et aptavit omnia.</i></p>
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Noetus 14

Iren. *Adv. Haer.* IV. 38 3.

<p>πατὴρ ἐντέλλεται, λόγος ἀπο- λετεῖ εἰς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς ὁ γὰρ κελεύων πατὴρ. ὁ δ' ὑπακούων υἱὸς.</p>	<p>τοῦ μὲν πατρὸς εὐδοκούντος καὶ κελεύοντος, τοῦ δὲ υἱοῦ πράσσοντος καὶ δημιουργούν- τος.</p>
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Ibid.

Iren. *Adv. Haer.* V. 18 2.

<p>εἰς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ θεός ὁ ὢν πατὴρ ἐπὶ πάντων, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς διὰ πάντων, τὸ δὲ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐν πᾶσιν. ἄλλως τε ἓνα θεὸν νομίσαι μὴ δυνάμεθα.</p>	<p><i>et sic unus deus pater osten- ditur, qui est super omnia et per omnia et in omnibus, super omnia quidem pater . . . per omnia autem verbum . . . in omnibus autem nobis spiritus.</i></p>
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In view of these partly verbatim contacts, it is hard to avoid the conclusion of literary dependence upon Irenaeus. But certainly Hippolytus did not use Irenaeus in dealing with Nicolaus, Cerinthus, Ebion, Cerdon, Marcion, and others. So one of two alternatives remains: either Hippolytus used Irenaeus'

⁶ Lipsius, *Quellenkritik der ältesten Ketzergeschichte*, S. 157. Harnack proves the same, as quoted by Lipsius, S. 211—220. See also Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergeschichte*, S. 62.

⁷ Ibid. S. 159, based upon Photius, *Cod. 121*. Yet Harnack, thinks Hippolytus used Irenaeus' written document.

written document, or both used a common source. The latter is more probable. Irenaeus was not even the leading source of Hippolytus. Only in the first five rubrics could the former have served as a source, — Simon, Menander, Saturnilus, Basilides, and Carpocrates. From Cerinthus on the divergences are wide. The catalog of Irenaeus falls into various groups, and must be compared with Hippolytus section by section.

Irenaeus I. C. 22—31

Hippolytus VI—VIII

Simon

Simon

Menander

Menander

Saturnilus

Saturnilus

Basilides

Basilides

Nicolaitans

Ophites

Cainites

Sethites

Carpocrates and Marcellina

Carpocrates and Marcellina

Cerinthus

Cerinthus

Ebionites

Ebion

Nicolaitans

Valentinus

Valentinus

Ptolemaus

Secundus

Secundus

ἄλλος ἐπιφανὴς διδάσκαλος

Heracleon

Other school of Valentinus

The still Wiser Ones

Marcus and his School

Marcus

Kolorbasus

Cerdon

Cerdon

Marcion

Marcion

Lucanus

Apelles

Encratites and Tatian

Tatian

Barbeliotes

Ophites

Cainites.

In the above lists relationship are evident, but identities are few. In certain instances the order corresponds, as in Cerinthus, Ebion, Cerdon, and Marcion. But the information given by our authors betrays separate sources. Hippolytus had a special source for his information about Valentinus, the Ophite sects, Tatian, and others. A source used by both contained Marcellina, who came to Rome ἐν χρόνοις Ἀνικήτου,⁸ which means that this Urschrift must be dated in the time of Soter, or more probably of Eleutherus, since Irenaeus addressed the latter. Naturally, the place of the composition of the source was Rome, since Marcellina and Ptolemäus were both there. No guess has been made concerning the authorship of this source.⁹

Compared with the work of Irenaeus on heresies, that of Hippolytus is characterized by "more accurate researches" as he himself says, and as his works prove.¹⁰ What his teacher has sketched "roughly and incidentally" he treated "accurately and methodically". A careful comparison of the two authors shows both the truthfulness of Photius' statement, that Hippolytus *did* use material of Irenaeus, and that there is much evidence of originality and independent research on the part of the former.

⁸ Epiphanius, quoted by Lipsius, *Quellenkritik der ältesten Ketzer-geschichte*, S. 178.

⁹ Ibid. S. 179.

¹⁰ ἀκριθέστερον ἐξέτασας, S. 203, speaking of the Marcosians. Quoted by Bunsen, *Hip. and his Age*. Vol. I. p. 28.

CHAPTER XVII

EPIPHANIUS, PHILASTRIUS, PSEUDO-TERTULLIAN AND JEROME.

In connection with the writings of Hippolytus, it is necessary to consider the works of three other authors, Epiphanius, Philastrius, and Pseudo-Tertullian. Epiphanius finished the Panarion about 377. He was born at Eleutheropolis in Palestine, and was bishop of Constantia in Cyprus 367—403. His great work deals with 66 heresies. He is not always an author to command credence. Critics have felt it necessary to regard with caution his use of ancient sources. It is known that he had at hand rich supplies of historical material. Sometimes he followed his sources slavishly. At other times, when material was scarce, he used such freedom as to render many of his details unreliable.¹ He is, nevertheless, a most valuable witness in examining the early Christian heresies. Philastrius, of Brescia, wrote less than a decade later than Epiphanius. He died in 387, or earlier. He was an old man in 381, when he participated in the Council at Aquileja against the Arians. He probably wrote his book on the heresies as early as 380. It is incredible that he could have used the Panarion as a source, since there was poor communication between the churches of the East and West. Epiphanius and Philastrius, therefore, are independent witnesses, although their literary relationship

¹ Lipsius, *Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanius. Einleitung*. Compare Bacon, *The Christ Party in Corinth (Expositor, Nov. 1914)* "Epiphanius is a questionable witness." p.411. Lipsius, in *Quellenkritik der ältesten Ketzergeschichte* speaks of "die verworrene Angabe des Epiphanius". S. 255. Schmitke, in *Neue Fragmente und Untersuchungen zu der Judenchr. Ev.* calls him a "Wirkkopf". S. 100. Speaking of his wild assertions, Schmitke exclaims, "Nun war das Spinnrädchen ins Laufen gekommen". S. 102.

is unquestioned, in relation to a common source: "*Quelle, welche von beiden selbständig benutzt wurde.*" "*Alle jene Stellen also, wo beide sich wörtlich berühren, müssen jedenfalls schon in der Grundschrift gestanden haben.*"² This fact is important, not only in determining the composition of the Panarion, but also in discovering the nature of the original source used by both authors. Epiphanius, to be sure, had additional rich source material lacking to Philastrius. The latter leaves a gap in the list of heresies mentioned by Epiphanius, omitting the Borborites, Strationites, and Phibionites. He inserts the Judaïtes omitted by Epiphanius. He also omits the Nazarenes, Ophites, Cainites, Sethites, Encratites and several others. He failed to get information concerning various Gnostic sects.³ It is probable that this common Grundschrift was Hippolytus. And, in addition to Epiphanius and Philastrius, we have the Libellus of Pseudo-Tertullian, who followed the common source even more closely than did the other two. He seems to have retained Hippolytus' order best, since he neither increased nor decreased it, although he twice added some related heresies under a common rubric. He added some later names that belonged to his time, such as Blastus and Praxeas, who had even gone to Rome to win support for their opinions. This fact determines for us the time and place for the composition, Rome, near the beginning of the third century. We have then, not merely a Latin translation of the source, but added information by the author, on later heresies he personally knew. Epiphanius and Philastrius both had richer supplemental information. Therefore, by comparing the three we can get a more accurate idea of the common source. And this result agrees accurately with the list of Hippolytus as described in the well known Photius bibl. cod. 121;⁴ by Eusebius;⁵ by Jerome;⁶ and in the Chron. Pasch.⁷ quotation from Hippolytus, considered by some to be a portion of his *Σύνταγμα πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς αἵρέσεις*.⁸ This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that

² Lipsius, *Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanius*, S. 29.

³ Ibid. S. 10.

⁴ Ibid. S. 33.

⁵ *H. E.* VI. 22.

⁶ *De Vir. Illust.* 61.

⁷ *Ed. Dind.* p. 12.

⁸ Bunsen, Vol. I. p. 105 ff.

Epiphanius, in his contest with the Valentinians names Hippolytus along with Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria among his authorities. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄρκεσθέντες τοῖς τε παρ' ἡμῶν λεχθεῖσιν ὀλίγοις καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας συγγραφέων τούτων λεχθεῖσιν τε καὶ συνταχθεῖσιν καὶ ὁρῶντες ὅτι ἄλλοι πεπονθήκασιν, φημὶ δὲ Κλήμης καὶ Ἐιρηναῖος καὶ Ἰππόλυτος καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους, καὶ θαυμαστῶς τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν πεποιήνται ἀνατροπὴν, οὐ πάνυ τι τῷ καμάτῳ προσθεῖναι, ὥς προεῖπον, ἡθελήσαμεν, ἱκανωθέντες τοῖς προειρημένοις ἀνδράσι.⁹

There is no probability that Epiphanius ever saw the *Philosophumena*, so it can be no other than Hippolytus' *Σύνταγμα*, which he no doubt had before him as his *Grundschrift*. We also learn from Epiphanius that this work, as well as the great work of Irenaeus, was not merely a review of heresies, but a refutation as well. This is evident from a fragment preserved in the Paschal Chronicle that attacks the Quartodecimans, and also from the description of Photius:¹⁰ ταύτας δὲ φησὶν ἐλέγχους ὑποβληθῆναι ὁμιλοῦντος Ἐιρηναίου. Epiphanius used Hippolytus freely and usually failed to give him the credit. For example, he transcribed a large fragment of Hippolytus against Noetus, almost verbatim, with no hint that the material was borrowed. Also, the conclusion of his refutation in c. 8 gives evidence that it was taken from a greater work that had attacked a whole series of heresies. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἤδη καὶ ὁ Νοητὸς ἀνατέτραπται, ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπόδειξιν, ἵνα συστήσωμεν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καθ' ἧς πᾶσαι τοσαῦται αἱρέσεις γεγένηται, μηδὲν δυνάμεναι εἰπεῖν. Lipsius¹¹ represents Fabricius, the learned commentator on Hippolytus as saying that this is nothing else but the "*Schluß unseres σύνταγμα πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς αἱρέσεις.*" Epiphanius used the date for Jesus' birth found in Hippolytus, the 42nd year of Augustus.¹²

In both Epiphanius and Philastrius the title, beginning and end, and number of heresies agree with the *Σύνταγμα* of Hippolytus. Where the source has 32, the users have 31 to 33. And so far as is known, their view point agrees with the

⁹ *Haer.* XXX. 33.

¹⁰ *Chron. Pasch.* p. 12. *sq. ed. Dind. Photius Cod.* 121.

¹¹ *Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanius.* S. 38.

¹² *Ibid.* S. 106.

original.¹³ Where Epiphanius, Philastrius, and Pseudo-Tertullian disagree in details, it appears that the first mentioned is using an older and better source.¹⁴

The common source, the document lying back of all three of our authors must have been Hippolytus. "*So werden wir auch von dieser Seite her zu dem Resultate gedrängt; die Grundschrift, welche Epiphanius, Philaster, und Pseudo-Tertullian benutzten, ist in der Tat keine andere als Hippolyt's Syntagma wider 32 Ketzereien.*"¹⁵

A comparison of Epiphanius with Irenaeus on information concerning Cerinthus is interesting.

Irenaeus¹⁶

Haer. I. 26 1.

τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν ὑπέθετο μὴ ἐκ παρθένου γεγενῆσθαι, γεγονέναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας υἱὸν ὁμοίως τοῖς λοιποῖς ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ δυνατώτερον γεγονέναι δικαιοσύνη καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ σοφία τῶν ἀνθρώπων. καὶ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα κατελθεῖν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα αὐθεντίας τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν εἵδει περιστερᾶς, καὶ τότε Κηρύξαι τὸν ἄγνωστον πατέρα καὶ δυνάμεις ἐπιτελέσθαι, πρὸς δὲ τῷ τέλει ἀποπτῆναι τὸν Χριστὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν πεπονθέναι καὶ ἐγηγέρθαι, τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν ἀπαθῆ διαμενηκέναι πνευματικὸν ὑπάρχοντα.

Epiphanius

Haer. 23 1. (latter part).

... ἄνωθεν δὲ ... μετὰ τὸ ἀδρυνθῆναι τὸν ἀπὸ σπέρματος Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας γεγενημένον, κατεληλυθέναι τὸν Χριστὸν εἰς αὐτὸν τοῦτ' ἔστιν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐν εἵδει περιστερᾶς. καὶ ἀποκαλύψαι αὐτῷ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν τὸν ἄγνωστον πατέρα. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπειδὴ ἦλθεν εἰς αὐτὸν ἄνωθεν δύναμις, δυνάμεις, ἐπιτετελεκέναι, καὶ αὐτοῦ πεπονθότας τὸ ἐλθὼν ἄνωθεν ἀναπτῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἄνω. πεπονθότα δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ πάλιν ἐγηγεμένον, Χριστὸν δὲ τὸν ἄνωθεν ἐλθόντα εἰς αὐτὸν ἀπαθῆ ἀναπτάντα ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ κατελθὼν ἐν εἵδει περιστερᾶς, καὶ οὐ τὸν Ἰησοῦν εἶναι Χριστόν.

¹³ Lipsius, *Quellenkritik der ältesten Ketzergeschichte*, S. 114—115.

¹⁴ Ibid. S. 133.

¹⁵ Ibid. S. 117.

¹⁶ The Greek text is taken from Lipsius. The text is given in Latin in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tomns 7, p. 686, and in A. Stieren's *Irenaeus*, p. 253.

Here Epiphanius¹⁷ is drawing largely from Irenaeus. He does not give in full the entire first sentence of his source, but is diverted to Hippolytus, substituting Χριστός for Ἰησοῦς in Irenaeus. Then he follows Irenaeus more accurately, but adds to the phrase κατεληλυθέναι τὸν Χριστὸν, the explanatory words τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, manifestly borrowed from Hippolytus. Following phrases rest upon a mixture of the two sources. Then the last words serve to harmonize them. The words τὸ κατελθόν, or τὸ ἐλθὼν ἄνωθεν (Hippolytus) are explained by Irenaeus' expression ὁ Χριστός. Certainly, according to the latter, Cerinthus distinguished between τὸν Ἰησοῦν and τὸν Χριστόν.

Compare again:

Epiphanius <i>Pan. Haer.</i> 28 1.	Philastrius <i>Haer.</i> 36.	Pseudo-Tertullian. <i>Haer.</i> 48 De Praes.
Κήριθος . . . ἂφ' οὔπερ Κηρινθιανοὶ λέγόμενοι, ἥκει . . . ἐξηγείται καὶ οὗτος, ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ σπέρματος Ἰωσήφ τὸν Χριστὸν γεγενῆσθαι. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ τὸν πρῶτον (Καρποκράν) διήλλαξε . . . ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ μόνον, ἐν τῷ προσέχειν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ ἀπὸ μέρους. φασκεὶ δὲ οὗτος τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων διδόνσθαι καὶ τὸν δεδωκότα τὸν νόμον ἓνα εἶναι τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν κόσμον πεποιηκότων.	<i>Cerinthus successit huius errori et similitudine vanitatis docens de generatione salvatoris deque creatura angelorum, in nullo discordans ab eo, nisi quia ex parte solum legi consensit quod a deo data sit, et ipsum deum Judaeorum eum esse aestimat qui legem dedit filiis Israel docet autem circumcidi et sabbatizare.</i>	<i>Post hunc Cerinthus haereticus erupit similia docens. Nam et ipse mundum institutum esse ab illis dicit; Christum ex semine Joseph natum proponit, hominem illum tantummodo sine divinitate contendens, ipsam quoque legem ab angelis datum perhibens, Judaeorum deum non dominum sed angelum promens.</i>

¹⁷ See Lipsius' criticism of the above. *Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanius*. S. 118.

Here the chief source is Hippolytus. There is a little "worked in" material from Irenaeus. Epiphanius' beginning shows evident revision of Hippolytus¹⁸. Philastrius gives a more accurate extract than does Pseudo-Tertullian.

To the above Irenaeus offers no parallel, except that he mentions the separation of the world from the highest God, and the Ebionitic representation of the Person of Christ. The above three transcribers of Hippolytus liken the doctrine of Cerinthus to that of Carpocrates. Still more important, all three show in Cerinthus very strong Judaism. Pseudo-Tertullian and Epiphanius agree in reporting him as teaching that the Law was given by angels, and one of them was the Jewish God. Epiphanius' statement is the more accurate of the two. He mentions the Prophets with the Law, and says the law-giver was one of the creating angels. Lipsius¹⁹ is positive here that Philastrius is translating Greek into Latin, on account of the sentence structure. Philastrius reports that Cerinthus did not differ from Carpocrates in Christology. Epiphanius says:

οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης καὶ ἄνωθεν δυνάμεως τὸν κόσμον γεγενῆσθαι, ἄνωθεν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἄνω θεοῦ κ. τ. λ. Here he is certainly using the words of Hippolytus.²⁰

Epiphanius is not concerned about his contradiction in confusing Χριστός as the son of Joseph and Mary, then again using Χριστός for Ἰησοῦς. Likewise to be regretted is his further contradiction when he says, following Irenaeus, that Jesus not only suffered, but rose from the dead, while later, following Hippolytus (c. 6) he says Jesus was not yet risen, but awaited the general resurrection. It is credible that the assertions beginning with μετὰ δὲ ἀδρυθῆναι τὸν Χριστὸν, and ending with τὸ κατελθὼν ἀναπτῆναι ἄνω, describing the descent of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove are from Hippolytus.²¹ According to Hippolytus elsewhere, it was not the aeon, Christ (as held by Cerinthus) that came upon the human Jesus, but the Holy Spirit, and Christ is not distinguished from the human Jesus. It is evident that Irenaeus, under the influence

¹⁸ Lipsius, *Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanius*, S. 115.

¹⁹ Ibid. S. 117.

²⁰ Ibid. S. 117.

²¹ Ibid. S. 119.

of the later Gnostic systems, has changed the genuine teachings of Cerinthus, while Hippolytus, who is here independent of Irenaeus, gives the correct representation of the two common sources. Epiphanius c. 2—5 drew his material from Hippolytus, as the parallels of Philastrius show, although each uses peculiar material. The statement of Philastrius: *docet autem circumcidi et sabbatizare*²² does not agree verbatim with Epiphanius, who mentions only Cerinthus' zeal for circumcision. On the other hand, both make Cerinthus the instigator of the disturbance which gave occasion to the Apostolic decrees,²³ and Epiphanius numbers him with those who, when Peter baptized Cornelius,²⁴ questioned the apostle's conduct; also with those who demanded that Paul should circumcise Titus.²⁵ Although unhistorical, these stories had already been accepted by Hippolytus.

Epiphanius seldom has verbatim contacts with Philastrius, since the former is elaborate²⁶ in his accounts, and the latter is brief. Epiphanius apparently based c. 5 upon Hippolytus. Philastrius says Cerinthus recognized only Matthew's Gospel, and rejected Paul. Epiphanius adds that he honored Judas, and rejected John, Mark, and Luke, and Acts; also that he blasphemed the martyrs. Epiphanius has nothing upon which to base the rejection of Mark, Luke and John, save the information that Cerinthus' followers accepted Matthew only. It is possible that Epiphanius took outright his material in cs. 2 and 3 from Hippolytus.

In c. 5 the text of Epiphanius reads as follows: *χρῶνται γὰρ τῷ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγελίῳ ἀπὸ μέρους καὶ οὐχὶ ὅλῳ ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν γενεαλογίαν τὴν ἑνσαρκον, καὶ ταύτην μαρτυρίαν φέρουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου πάλιν λέγοντες ὅτι, ἀρκετὸν τῷ μαθητῇ ἵνα γένηται ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος.*²⁷ *τί οὖν; φασί, περιετμήθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς, περιτμήθητι καὶ αὐτός. Χριστὸς κατὰ νόμον, φασίν, ἐπολιτεύσατο, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ἴσα ποίησον.*²⁸

*τὸν δὲ Παῦλον ἀθετοῦσι διὰ τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι τῇ περιτομῇ. ἀλλὰ ἐκβάλλουσιν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ εἰρηκέναι, Ὅσοι ἐν νόμῳ δικαιοῦσθε, τῆς χάριτος ἐξεπέσατε.*²⁹

²² *Haer.* 36.²³ Acts 15.²⁴ *Ibid.* 11 1-4.²⁵ Gal. 2 3.²⁶ See Pan. XXVIII c. 3 and 4.²⁷ Matt. 10 25.²⁸ Cf. XXX. 36.²⁹ Gal. 5 2.

Epiphanius has been speaking about Cerinthus. Note his plurals: *χρῶνται, φέρουσιν, φασί, ἀθετοῦσι*, etc. Before this he used the singular in speaking of Cerinthus. In this case he is speaking probably of the followers of this heretic.³⁰ He could not well have meant here the Ebionites, since a comparison with Philastrius would forbid. Also the saying *ἀρκετὸν τῷ μαθητῇ ἵνα γένηται ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος* is found in Pseudo-Tertullian.³¹ It is probable that this information rests upon Hippolytus, since the beginning of c. 6 of Epiphanius is certainly taken from this author. We can restore the text of Hippolytus by comparing Epiphanius and Philastrius here.

Epiphanius. c. 6 1.

οὗτος δὲ Κήρινθος ἀνόητος καὶ ἀνοήτων διδάσκαλος φάσκει πάλιν πολλὰς Χριστὸν πεπονθέναι καὶ ἐσταυρῶσθαι μήπω δὲ ἐγγεγέρθαι, μέλλειν δὲ ἀνίστασθαι ὅταν ἡ καθόλου γένηται νεκρῶν ἀνάστασις.

Philastrius. *Haer.* 36.

Christum nondum surrexisse a mortuis sed surrecturum annunciat.

We have seen that both Epiphanius and Philastrius followed a common source, stating that Cerinthus was Judaistic.³² In this they were no doubt following Hippolytus, as in the material on the belated resurrection of Christ. Following this, Epiphanius³³ rests his authority upon oral tradition. He says: *ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ πατρίδι, φημὶ δὲ Ἀσία ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Γαλατία πάντῃ ἤκμασε τὸ τούτων διδασκαλεῖον*. This was probably not found in Hippolytus. Possibly the spread of the Cerinthians in Galatia induced Epiphanius, without foundation, to represent them as the opponents in Paul's letter to the Galatians. Probably on similar oral tradition rests the statement that the Cerinthians were called Merinthians,³⁴ something that has not been proved historical.

³⁰ See c. 6.

³¹ *Nemo discipulus super magistrum nec servus super dominum*. Tomus II and De Praes 48.

³² Epiphanius c. 2—5. Philastrius 36.

³³ c. 6. latter part.

³⁴ *καλοῦνται δὲ πάλιν οὗτοι Μερινθιανοί, ὡς ἡ ἐλθοῦσα εἰς ἡμᾶς φάσις περιέχει*. 28 8.

Let us next consider the sources used by Epiphanius in his treatment of Jewish-Christian sects. He seems to have been the first church father to designate the Nazarenes and Ebionites as separate sects. Irenaeus knew nothing of the division, nor did his contemporaries. The conditions discussed by Justin Martyr³⁵ prevailed for years after his death. There were two strong tendencies, even factions, but no open rupture. Philastrius and Pseudo-Tertullian used the term Ebionites of all Jewish Christians. The question of the supernatural birth of Jesus did not divide them, though they differed on this point. Epiphanius, followed by Jerome, speaks of the sect named Nazarenes, and we learn that it then, as in the oldest times, stood for all who desired to be both Jews and Christians at the same time. Jewish Christians holding to the Law as obligatory on Jews only called themselves Nazarenes. Unbelieving Jews likewise addressed them thus. Jerome lived among the Nazarenes in Beroea, and knew them. Of the Ebionites, he only repeated older traditions. His testimony is that the Syrian Christians whom he knew did not reject Paul, and recognized him as the Apostle to the Gentiles. They did not require the Gentile Christians to be circumcised.

We now turn to Epiphanius. What he writes about the Nazarenes is evidently not drawn from older authorities. He is not using Hippolytus now as his Grundschrift. No. He is just putting together popular reports gathered from his contemporaries. He invokes no authority, but says *ὡς ὁ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθὼν περιέχει λόγος*.³⁶ As a result he was deceived about many details. It is worthy of note here that Philastrius, working independently, fared no better. Epiphanius was in error, just to give a few examples, in describing the Essenic Ebionites. He gave their residence east of the Jordan. *Οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἐβίων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ . . . τὰς δὲ ρίζας τῶν ἀκανθωδῶν παραφυάδων ἔχουσιν ἀπὸ τε τῆς Ναβαταίας καὶ Παναιδος τὸ πλεῖστον, Μωαβίτιδος τε καὶ Κωκάβων ἐν τῇ βασιλίᾳ γῆ.*³⁷ He erred in making divisions of Jewish and

³⁵ Dialogue with Trypho. c. 47 3.

³⁶ *Pan. Haer.* XXIX. 1.

³⁷ *Ibid.* XXX. 18 1.

Christian Ebionites; also of Jewish and Christian Nazarenes. He failed to draw the proper boundary line between Christian Ebionites and Christian Nazarenes. He thought he could trace the Nazarenes back to the earliest days, when Jews who knew nothing of Jesus were evangelized by the apostles and called themselves *Ναζωραῖους*,³⁸ not *Νασαραῖους*.³⁹ Lipsius thinks all this the creation of Epiphanius' fancy, which may show how little there is for a foundation to much of his reports.⁴⁰ These »*Ναζωραῖοι*« had no Essenic element as they accepted the entire Old Testament.

They like the original Jewish Christians, designated Jesus the *παῖς θεοῦ*.⁴¹ Epiphanius' actual knowledge of them was so meager that he was uncertain whether they accepted the virgin birth of Jesus or not.⁴² He says the Jews were very hostile to these *Ναζωραῖοι*. *οὐ μόνον γὰρ οἱ τῶν Ἰουδαίων παῖδες πρὸς τούτους κέκτηνται μίσος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνιστάμενοι ἔωθεν καὶ μέσης ἡμέρας καὶ περὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν, τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας ὅτε εὐχὰς ἐπιτελοῦσιν ἑαυτοῖς ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς ἐπαρῶνται αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀναθεματίζουσι*.⁴³ Hilgenfeld thinks these were a remnant of the primitive Church.⁴⁴ Epiphanius' *Ἰεσσαῖοι*⁴⁵ are the same as the Therapeutai of Pseudo-Philo, and his *Ἑσσαῖοι* have nothing to do with the Jewish *Ναζωραῖοι*. He probably wove this tangled skein from a writing of Julius Africanus,⁴⁶ who had traveled around Chocab. Through the intercalation of *Ναζωραῖοι*, Epiphanius has destroyed the immediate connection between Cerinthus and the Ebionites, which both Irenaeus and Hippolytus represented. But he has avoided the distinction between the two classes of Ebionites represented by Origen and Eusebius. Departing from Hippolytus, which is his Grundschrift, he makes Ebion not the successor of Cerinthus, but of these same *Ναζωραῖοι*, who, he explains, were older than the Ebionites.⁴⁷

³⁸ *Pan. Haer.* XXIX. 5 6.

³⁹ *Ibid.* XXIX. 6 1.

⁴⁰ *Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanius*, S. 133.

⁴¹ Acts 3 13 etc.

⁴² *Panarion* XXIX. 7.

⁴³ *Ibid.* XXIX. 9 2.

⁴⁴ *Judenthum und Juden-Christenthum*, S. 87.

⁴⁵ *Panarion* XXIX. 1 4.

⁴⁶ Hilgenfeld, *Judenthum und Juden-Christenthum*, S. 88.

⁴⁷ *Panarion* XXIX. 5 6.

Epiphanius⁴⁸ does follow Hippolytus in using the name Ebion as the founder of the Ebionites. In this he is paralleled by Philastrius⁴⁹ and Pseudo-Tertullian.⁵⁰ Tertullian⁵¹ himself also follows Hippolytus. The last mentioned is the first to use the name. Irenaeus knew it not. Tertullian followed the tradition. In *de praescrip. haer.*⁵² he notices Ebion as the champion of circumcision and Law, combatted by Paul in the Epistle to the Galatians: *Hebionis haeresis hic est. Again,*⁵³ *potuit haec opinio Hebioni convenire qui nudum hominem etc.* While the tradition seems to be strong, all evidence appears to rest upon the sole testimony of Hippolytus, and that without foundation. Says Hilgenfeld, „*An Ebion als Stifter der Ebionäer hat in der alten Kirche niemand gezweifelt.*“⁵⁴ However, Hilgenfeld's contention has not carried conviction. It might also be said, that, apart from him, practically no one in the modern church believes there was such a man as Ebion.

In regard to the tenets of the Ebionites, Epiphanius repeats some things predicated of the Cerinthians:⁵⁵ Ἀνχοῦσι δὲ πάλιν περιτομὴν ἔχοντες καὶ σεμνύνονται δὴθεν ταύτην εἶναι σφραγίδα καὶ χαρακτῆρα τῶν τε πατριαρχῶν καὶ δικαίων τῶν κατὰ τὸν νόμον πεπολιτενομένων, δι' ἧς ἐξισοῦσθαι ἐκείνοις νόμιζουσιν καὶ δῆτα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν σύστασιν ταύτης βούλονται φέρειν ὡς καὶ οἱ περὶ Κηρίνου. φασὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ τὸν ἐκείνων ληρώδη λόγον »ἀρκετὸν τῷ μαθητῇ εἶναι ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος«. »περιτμήθη, φησὶν, ὁ Χριστός, καὶ σὺ περιτμήθητι«. This, according to Lipsius, was very probably borrowed from Hippolytus.⁵⁶ Philastrius shows Hippolytus agreeing with Tertullian⁵⁷ on the Christology of the Ebionites; also Hippolytus, according to Philastrius,⁵⁸ described the Judaizing custom of the Ebionites through the words *nemo discipulus super magistrum, nec servus super dominum*, in which they sought to justify their practices by appealing to the example of Christ's obedience to the Law.

⁴⁸ *Panarion* XXX. 2 1; 3 1, et sec. ⁴⁹ *Adv. Haer.* 37. ⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 11.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* c. III. ⁵² c. 33. ⁵³ *De Carne Christi*. See also *De Virg.* vel. 6.

⁵⁴ *Ketzergeschichte*, S. 423.

⁵⁵ *Panarion* XXX. 26 1, 2.

⁵⁶ *Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanius*, S. 139.

⁵⁷ *De Carne Christi* 14, *De Virg.* vel. 6.

⁵⁸ Lipsius, *Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanius*, S. 139.

Chapter XXX of the Panarion has a wealth of new material. In the picture of the Ebionites run the two forms of Jewish Christianity, the so-called "popular," and the Essenic form. The author is conscious of the difference, and uses the former only of "Ebion," and the latter of the Elkesaites. How about these different sources? Evidently there was an older source, possibly two, of which Hippolytus was one, and a more recent source. Epiphanius brings Ebion into direct relations with the Cerinthians and Carpocratians. He says:⁵⁹ οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Ἐβίων σύγχρονος μὲν τούτων ὑπῆρχεν, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς ὦν ὀρμάται. Our author is not very clear here. In c. 2 we read: τὰ πρῶτα δὲ ἐκ παρατριβῆς καὶ σπέρματος ἀνδρός, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, τὸν Χριστὸν γεγενῆσθαι ἔλεγεν, ὡς καὶ ἤδη ἡμῖν προείρηται, ὅτι τὰ ἴσα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν ἅπασι φρονῶν ἐν τούτῳ μόνῳ διεφέρετο ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ προσανέχειν κατὰ σαββατισμὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν περιτομὴν καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα, ὅσαπερ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις καὶ Σαμαρείταις ἐπιτελεῖται.⁶⁰ The ἄλλοι could not refer to Nazarenes, since, they, as he said previously, agreed with "Ebion." Much more they could only have one mind if they referred to Cerinthus, of whom, on account of his view of the origin of the Law, and other opinions, one could not say προσανέχειν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ νόμῳ κατὰ πάντα (see above) since Epiphanius describes him as προσέχειν . . . ἀπὸ μέρους. With this Philastrius⁶¹ agrees; also Pseudo-Tertullian.⁶² Presumably Epiphanius is drawing from Hippolytus again who probably said Ἐβίων . . . ἀκολουθῶν καὶ ὅμοια τῷ Κηρίνθῳ φρονῶν, ἐν τούτῳ μόνῳ διεφέρετο ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κατὰ πάντα προσανέχειν. Accordingly, "Ebion's" doctrine of the human birth of Jesus agrees well with that of Cerinthus, but the stricter Judaism of the former, especially in regard to the origin of the Law, may here be in our author's mind. But he is confusing things all along here. He says:⁶³ Ἰησοῦν γεγεννημένον ἐκ σπέρματος ἀνδρός καὶ ἐπιλεχθέντα, κατὰ ἐκλογὴν υἱὸν θεοῦ κληθέντα, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁνωθεν εἰς αὐτὸν ἤκοντος Χριστοῦ ἐν

⁵⁹ Panarion XXX. 2 1.

⁶⁰ Ibid. XXX. 2 2.

⁶¹ Haer. 37. „Hebion . . . Cerinthi, in multis ei similiter errans.“

⁶² De Praes. 48. „Cerintho non in omni parte consentiens.“

⁶³ Panarion XXX. 16 3.

εἶδει περιστερᾶς. This corresponds well with the Christology ascribed by Irenaeus⁶⁴ to Cerinthus, which the Ebionites appear to have shared.

Before dismissing Epiphanius and his sources, we will discuss his statements concerning the use of the Hebrew gospel by the Jewish Christian sects. He says⁶⁵ concerning the Ναζωραῖοι: ἔχουσι δὲ τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον πληρέστατον Ἑβραϊστί. Παρ' αὐτοῖς γὰρ σαφῶς τοῦτο, καθὼς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγράφη. Ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασιν ἔτι σώζεται. οὐκ οἶδα δὲ εἰ καὶ τὰς γενεαλογίας τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ἄχρι Χριστοῦ περιεῖλον. Jerome, copying Origen, says, *Ut in Hebraico quoque evangelio legimus dominum ad discipulos loquentum* etc. This tradition probably goes back to Apollinarius,⁶⁶ a Greek who knew Hebrew. Evidently, Epiphanius knew so little about this "Hebrew Matthew" that he could not settle the all-important question about the genealogy, and with it, the Christology of the first chapter.

Jerome made a blunder in connection with this same book. He found it among the Nazarene Christians of Beroea in Syria. He mistook it for the "original gospel of Matthew written in the Hebrew tongue,"⁶⁷ when it was nothing but an Aramaic targum, — free homiletical rendition in Aramaic of our Greek Matthew. "Jerome, ignorant of the very language in which his 'authentic Hebrew'⁶⁷ was written, gave color to his claims of discovery by borrowing from Origen certain quotations from the *Evangelium Hebraeorum*, a totally different work, probably written in Greek, not of Nazarene (orthodox) but pronounced Ebionite character. The addition from Origen was incongruous, but in an uncritical age it served to bolster up the false claims of Jerome."⁶⁸ Such a quotation of Origen's is found in his commentary on John:⁶⁹ Ἐὰν δὲ προσηται τις τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίων εὐαγγέλιον, ἔνθα αὐτὸς ὁ σωτὴρ φησιν. »ἄρτι ἔλαβέ με ἡ μήτηρ μου, τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐν μιᾷ τῶν τριχῶν μου

⁶⁴ *Adv. Haer.* I. 25.

⁶⁵ *Panarion* XXIX. 9 4.

⁶⁶ Apollinarius the Younger. Teacher of Jerome in 374. Flourished in the latter half of the fourth century. Bishop of Laodicea.

⁶⁷ Bacon, *Date and Authorship of Mark*, p. 59.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* p. 205.

⁶⁹ *Tom.* II. 12. See also fragment on Appearance to James, *Devir. Illustr.* II.

καὶ ἀπὴνεγκέ με εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ μέγα θαβώρ. Clement of Alexandria also preserves a quotation from this work:⁷⁰ Ἡ ἂν τῷ καθ' Ἑβραίου εὐαγγελίῳ, »ὁ θαυμάσας βασιλεύσει«, γέγραπται, »καὶ ὁ βασιλεύσας ἀναπαύσεται«.

Irenaeus says:⁷¹ *Solo autem eo quod est secundum Matthaeum evangelio utuntur (Ebionaei) et apostolum Paulum recusant, apostatem eum legis dicentes.* Irenaeus is here speaking of the apocryphal gospel of the Ebionites. It would seem plain that the Nazarene Hebrew gospel was the Aramaic targum of our canonical Matthew, which none of the Church fathers thought of as a fifth gospel, and that it was a different⁷² work from the one used by the Ebionites, which was an apocryphal, heretical work. Up to Eusebius, there is no hint by any of the church fathers that it was written in a non-Greek language. According to Zahn it had 280 lines less than our Matthew.⁷³ In addition to the quotation from Origen⁷⁴ about the Holy Spirit as the mother of Jesus, it contained a different account of a woman taken with many sins,⁷⁵ also an agraphon about one not seeking rest until he finds, etc.⁷⁶ Jerome speaks of translating this Hebrew gospel into Greek and Latin, but he only means that he found it in Greek, copied it, and translated it into Latin. Several times his language must be thus construed.⁷⁷

Jerome has preserved for us the most important and determinant fragment we possess of the *Εὐαγγέλιον καθ' Ἑβραίου* used by Origen. It is the narrative of the resurrection of Jesus. Here everything related to the festal observance centered on the appearance to James. Here the Lord's brother, James "the Just," takes the place occupied in the Synoptic tradition by Peter. Jerome says:⁷⁸ *evangelium quoque quod appellatur secundum Hebraeos et a me nuper in graecum sermonem latinumque translatum est, quo et*

⁷⁰ Strom. II. 9 45. Charteris' Canonicity, p. 452.

⁷¹ *Adv. Haer.* I. 26 2.

⁷² Schmidtke, *Neue Fragmente und Untersuchungen zu den Juden-christlichen Evangelien*, S. 66 ff.

⁷³ *Ibid.* S. 126.

⁷⁴ *In Joh. Tom.* II. 12.

⁷⁵ Euseb. *H. E.* III. 39 17.

⁷⁶ Quoted by Schmidtke, (super) S. 126.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* S. 134.

⁷⁸ *De viris Illustribus*, Cap. II. 8 9. Ed. Bibliotheca Teubneriana.

*Adamantius*⁷⁹ saepe utitur, quod post resurrectionem Salvatoris refert: „Dominus autem cum dedisset sindonem servo sacerdotis, iuit ad Jacobum et apparuit ei — juraverat enim Jacobus se non comesurum panem ab illa hora qua biberat calicem Dominus, donec videret eum resurgentem a dormientibus —; rursusque post paululum, „afferte, ait Dominus, mensam et panem’. Statimque additur: Tulit panem et benedixit ac fregit et dedit Jacobo Justo et dixit ei: „frater mi, comede panem tuum, quia resurrexit Filius hominis a dormientibus.“

Schmidtke gives the following summary⁸⁰ to distinguish between the Nazarene gospel and the Gospel according to the Hebrews:

1. The Gospel according to the Hebrews was a Greek book, the Nazarene Gospel was Aramaic.

2. The Nazarene Gospel was either the traditional Grundschrift of our Matthew, or a translation of an official copy of the same. (Doubtless the latter). The Gospel according to the Hebrews was always considered non-canonical. Origen was the last Greek author to give it serious attention. Cyril of Jerusalem and Athanasius both condemned it.

3. The Nazarene Gospel, as shown by comparison with our Matthew has lost significant passages. Matthew in Greek has 2500 lines. The Gospel according to the Hebrews had 2200.

4. The Gospel according to the Hebrews was the special Gospel of the Ebionites. The Nazarene Gospel, not so.

5. The Gospel according to the Hebrews, in its story of the virgin birth of Jesus, the first acts in the narrative of the temptation, the confusion of the watchers, the going of the women to the grave, the meeting of the angel, etc. has made radical change from the narratives in the Nazarene Gospel.

6. The Gospel according to the Hebrews pushed James the brother of Jesus to the front, and relegated Peter to the rear.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Origen.

⁸⁰ *Neue Fragmente und Untersuchungen zu den judenchristlichen Evangelien*, S. 162.

⁸¹ Jerome, *De viris Illustribus*, Cap. II.

The testimony of Jerome, the Latin translator of Origen, who so confused people and things in his ignorance, is misleading in regard to the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and cannot be used here for proof. The same is true, in lesser degree of Epiphanius. He even confused Tatian with the author of the work, and his followers with the Ebionites. He it was who firmly fixed the title τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίων εὐαγγέλιον upon the special Gospel of the Ebionites.⁸²

⁸² Schmidtke, *Neue Fragmente und Untersuchungen*, SS. 166—168.

CHAPTER XVIII ORIGEN AND EUSEBIUS.

A word should be said about Origen and his sources. He is sometimes followed by Eusebius. Origen¹ recognizes two sects of Ebionites «οἱ διττοὶ Ἐβιωναῖοι», one that accepts the virgin birth, and one that rejects. He is mixed and says that both reject Paul and his epistles. This is due to the confusion from calling all Jewish Christians Ebionites. Eusebius follows Origen in calling both classes Ebionites.² Origen says:³ ἔστωσαν δέ τινες καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀποδεχόμενοι, ὡς παρὰ τοῦτο Χριστιανοὶ εἶναι αὐχοῦντες, ἔτι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἰουδαίων νόμον ὡς τὰ Ἰουδαίων πλήθη βιοῦν ἐθέλοντες. He is not here following Justin. Elsewhere, it will be found that Hippolytus is his chief source for the Ebionites. He describes them as champions of literal interpretations of Scripture, and the imitation of Jesus in his obedience to the Law. In his commentary on Matthew⁴ 26 17, 18 he says: *secundum haec forsitan aliquis imperitorum requiret cadens in Ebionismum ex eo quod Jesus celebravit more Judaico pascha corporaliter, sicut et primum diem azimorum et pascha, dicens, quia convenit et nos imitatores Christi similiter facere: non considerans, quoniam Jesus, cum venisset temporis plenitudo, et missus fuisset, factus est de muliere factus est sub lege, non ut eos, qui sub lege erant, sub lege relinqueret, sed ut educeret eos ex lege.*

It is easy to trace the source of Origen here. In the Chronicon Paschale, there is a quotation⁵ of Peter of Alexandria,

¹ C. Celsum, V. 61.

² H. E. III. 27.

³ C. Celsum, V. 61, 62.

⁴ Opera, Vol. IV. Lomatzsch p. 406.

⁵ Chron. Pasch. ed. Dindorfius, p. 4ff. See also Bunsen, *Hippolytus and his Age*. Vol. I. pp. 106, 107.

which serves for the introduction. He says, in combatting the Quartodecimans, that there are certain ones, contentious in their nature, simpletons in knowledge, who maintain that it is necessary to keep Easter on the 14th day of the first month, according to the command of the Law, regardless of whatever day it happens to be, remembering that it is written in the Law, 'cursed shall he be who does not keep it as it is ordered'; forgetting that the Law was given to Jews, and not to Christians. Peter adds that Hippolytus, the witness of religion, has written literally thus in his treatise against all the Heresies:⁶ Ὁρῶ μὲν οὖν ὅτι φιλονεικίας τὸ ἔργον. Λέγει (the Quartodeciman adversary) γὰρ οὕτως· ἐποίησε τὸ πάσχα ὁ Χριστὸς τότε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἔπαθεν· διὸ καμὲ δεῖ ὃν τρόπον ὁ κύριος ἐποίησεν οὕτω ποιεῖν.

Here Hippolytus was on his own ground. He was the authority of his time on the subject. With no other conflict did he so concern himself. Bunsen⁷ represents his Treatise on the Passover "as his most glorious monument and relic" and it is quoted on the cathedra on which his statue is seated, a monument erected probably in less than a century after his death. About 70 years later, Peter, the learned Alexandrian, referred to the above words of Hippolytus.⁸

Eusebius in discussing the Judaizers followed Origen. He says:⁹ . . . ὁμολογούντες τῇ τῶν προτέρων περιετρέποντο

⁶ *Chron. Pasch.* p. 12, sq. ed. Dind. Photius Cod. 121. Extract in Charteris' *Canonicity*, p. 194.

⁷ *Hippolytus and his Age*. Vol. I. p. 109. See also Jerome, *De viris Illustribus*, LXI. 'de pascha'.

⁸ "This, though said to be from Hippolytus on Heresies, is not found in that work as now in existence. Its genuineness therefore rests on the authority of the anonymous author who quotes it." Footnote in Charteris' *Canonicity*, p. 193. "The Chronicon Paschale was probably composed by a cleric who belonged to the entourage of Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople 610—638. It extended from the creation of Adam to the year 629, but the beginning and end are lost." Krueger, article in Schaff-Herzog Encyc. — The author, except for his own time, confined himself to copying sources. It is claimed by some that Hippolytus kept the Chronicon Paschale for sixteen years. Charteris' *Canonicity*, p. 193.

⁹ *H. E.* III. 27.

δυσσεβεία, μάλιστα ὅτε καὶ τὴν σωματικὴν περὶ τὸν νόμον λατρείαν ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις περιέπειν ἐσπούδαζον. οὗτοι δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἀποστόλου πάσας τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀρνητέας ἡγοῦντο εἶναι δεῖν, ἀποστάτην ἀποκαλοῦντες αὐτὸν τοῦ νόμου εὐαγγελίῳ δὲ μόνῳ τῷ καθ' Ἑβραίους λεγομένῳ χρώμενοι τῶν λοιπῶν σμικρὸν ἐποιοῦντο λόγον. Καὶ τὸ μὲν σάββατον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰουδαϊκὴν ἀγωγὴν ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις παρεφύλαττον, ταῖς δ' αὖ κυριακαῖς ἡμέραις ἡμῖν τὰ παραπλήσια εἰς μνήμην τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναστάσεως ἐπετελοῦν. Eusebius furnishes us no independent information about Jewish Christian sects.

PART IV

SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS IN JEWISH CHRISTIAN SECTS.

CHAPTER XIX

THE SURVIVAL OF THE TWO JEWISH-CHRISTIAN FACTIONS.

WE now come to the historical development of the later Jewish Christianity. In order to clear the atmosphere, let us refer briefly to the previous situation at Corinth. We have seen that there were four factions: one of Paul, one of Apollos, one of Cephas, and one of Christ.¹ Of the factions following Paul and Apollos nothing need be said. They were evidently composed of Gentile Christians, each group posing as the champions of its favorite preacher, with no doctrinal or racial grounds for division. The factions of Cephas and Christ were Jewish. It is with these that we are now concerned.

F. C. Baur, in *Die Christuspartei in der korinthischen Gemeinde, der Gegensatz des petrinischen und paulinischen Christenthums in der ältesten Kirche*,² merges the Petrine and Christ parties as one group, composed of those who invoked the chiefest of the apostles. They were, according to Baur, all Judaizers, and are to be identified with the opponents of Paul in Galatia. He calls attention to the fact that the party cry *Χριστοῦ*³ instead of *κυρίου* is significant, and shows that it was only in the strict Jewish sense of Messiahship that the faction chose Jesus as leader. J. C. C. Schmidt agrees⁴ with Baur in thinking that there were only two parties, the Paul-Apollos faction, and that of Peter-Christ. Eichhorn⁵ thinks

¹ 1 Cor. 1 12.

² Baur, *Die Christuspartei in der korinthischen Gemeinde*, S. 84.

³ Ibid. S. 63.

⁴ Ibid. S. 76.

⁵ Ibid. S. 63.

that the Christ party was composed only of neutrals who had no favorite human leader. Starr⁶ takes the view that James, the head of the church at Jerusalem, was the leader of this faction while Flatt⁷ holds that it was formerly Sadducean, opposing the resurrection of the body,⁸ antagonizing Paul, Judaizing, and invoking the names of both Peter and James. Zach Pierce⁹ unites the two Jewish-Christian parties in another way: quoting the words of Clement of Rome¹⁰ ἐπ' ἀληθείας πνευματικῶς ἐπέστειλεν ὑμῖν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ Κηφᾶ τε καὶ Ἀπολλῶ, διὰ τὸ καὶ τότε προσκλίσεις ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι, he infers that the words¹¹ ἐγὼ τοῦ Χριστοῦ are not genuine. If so, then the two Jewish Christian parties would be identical.

These views do not seem tenable, in the light of subsequent historians. According to them there were, in the early Church, two distinct Jewish-Christian factions, whose paths lay increasingly apart. One of these was tolerant, the other intolerant. One welcomed the Gentile Christians and gave them fellowship. The other granted them fellowship only on condition that they be circumcised and keep the ceremonial Law of Moses.

Justin Martyr is our first post-apostolic authority for distinguishing between these two parties, the tolerant and the intolerant. In the Dialogue with Trypho we read:¹²

Εἰσὶν, ἀπεκρινάμην, ὦ Τρύφων, καὶ μηδὲ κοινωνεῖν ὁμλίας ἣ ἐστίας τοῖς τοιούτοις πολυῶντες· οἷς ἐγὼ οὐ σύναινός εἰμι. Ἀλλ' εἰάν αὐτοὶ διὰ τὸ ἀσθενὲς τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὰ ὅσα δύνανται νῦν ἐκ τῶν Μωσέως, ἃ διὰ τὸ σκληροκάρδιον τοῦ λαοῦ νοοῦμεν διατετάχθαι, μετὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν Χριστὸν ἐλπίζειν καὶ τὰς αἰώνιους καὶ φύσει δικαιοπραξίας καὶ εὐσεβείας φυλάσσειν βούλωνται καὶ αἰρῶνται συζῆν τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς καὶ πιστοῖς, ὡς προεῖπον, μὴ πείθοντες αὐτοὺς μήτε περιτέμνεσθαι ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς μήτε σαββατίζειν μήτε ἄλλα ὅσα τοιαῦτά ἐστι τηρεῖν, καὶ προλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ κοινωνεῖν ἀπάντων, ὡς ὁμοσπλάγχχους καὶ ἀδελφοὺς, δεῖν ἀποφαινόμεναι. Ἐὰν δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους τοῦ ὑμετέρου πιστεύειν λέγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν Χριστὸν, ὦ Τρύφων, ἔλεγον, ἐκ παντὸς κατὰ τὸν

⁶ Baur, *Die Christuspartei in der korinthischen Gemeinde*, S. 63.

⁷ Ibid. S. 80. ⁸ 1 Cor. 15 12.

⁹ Baur, *Die Christuspartei in der korinthischen Gemeinde*, S. 84.

¹⁰ 1 Clement. Ch. XLVII. 3. ¹¹ 1 Cor. 1 12. ¹² Ch. XLVII. 2—4.

διὰ Μωσέως διαταχθέντα νόμον ἀναγκάζουσι ζῆν τοὺς ἐξ ἔθνων πιστεύοντας ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν Χριστὸν ἢ μὴ κοινωνεῖν αὐτοῖς τῆς τοιαύτης συνδιαγωγῆς αἰροῦνται, ὁμοίως καὶ τούτους οὐκ ἀποδέχομαι. Τοὺς δὲ πειθομένους αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἔννομον πολιτείαν μετὰ τοῦ φυλάσσειν τὴν εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ὁμολογίαν καὶ σωθήσεσθαι ἴσως ὑπολαμβάνω. Τοὺς δὲ ὁμολογήσαντας καὶ ἐπιγνόντας τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ ἡτινιοῦν αἰτία μεταβάντας ἐπὶ τὴν ἔννομον πολιτείαν ἀρνησαμένους ὅτι οὗτός ἐστι ὁ Χριστός, καὶ πρὶν τελευτῆς μὴ μεταγνόντας, οὐδ' ὅλως σωθήσεσθαι ἀποφαίνομαι.

These two parties continued to flourish until the fifth century. The intolerant sect usually bore the name Ebionites, while the name most commonly given to the more tolerant was Nazarenes. There is much confusion and contradiction in the testimony of the early Christian fathers concerning these two groups. Origen¹³ called both Ebionites, and in this error he was followed by Eusebius.¹⁴ Jerome¹⁵ confused the Nazarenes of Pella with the Ebionites. He condemned the former, saying that they are neither Jews nor Christians, while wishing to be both. Notwithstanding the conflicting statements of the early authorities, however, the chief principles and practices of both groups seem clear.

¹³ *C. Celsus*, V. 61.

¹⁴ *H. E.* III. 27. Both Origen and Eusebius err in stating that both Ebionitic parties were anti-Pauline.

¹⁵ Jerome, *Ep.* 112 *ad August*, c. 13. "*Dum volunt et Judaei esse et Christiani, nec Judaei sunt, neque Christiani.*"

CHAPTER XX

CERINTHUS.

Irenaeus gives us some very definite statements about Cerinthus. He falls back upon Polycarp, his teacher, for his general authority. He recalls such things as he heard his master teach. It will be remembered that Irenaeus was a very young man when he left Asia Minor, and that he wrote his work on heresies many years later. He tells us the story¹ of the Apostle John's encounter with Cerinthus; how the Apostle, on entering a bath house at Ephesus, saw Cerinthus there, and sprang out, fearing that the roof might fall in because the enemy of the Truth was there. This same story is told by Epiphanius,² with the substitution of "Ebion's" name for that of Cerinthus. It is also related that a Jewish rabbi,³ during the reign of Hadrian, entered a bath house of Hamman near Tiberias, and, on finding a Christian there, sprang out and escaped with his life, but the roof collapsed and caught the zealous rabbi by the robe he wore. Irenaeus' story, evidently, lacks the marks of historicity.

Eduard Schwartz⁴ claims that Irenaeus, in order to paint himself with a halo of discipleship under an apostle's disciple, probably, with refined *Unwahrhaftigkeit* invented this story, and the legend of a Docetic Cerinthus that has been copied in part by certain of his successors. While Moffatt warns⁵ us that "any wholesale depreciation of Irenaeus is uncritical," and refers to Preuschen's criticism of Schwartz in *Berliner*

¹ *Adv. Haer.* III. 11 1.

² *Panarion* XXX. 24.

³ Moffatt, *Int. to N. T. Lit.* p. 608.

⁴ *Johannes und Kerinthus*, in *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristenthums*, S. 210—219.

⁵ *Int. to N. T. Lit.* p. 609.

Philol. Wochenschrift,⁶ we are reminded that Irenaeus' memory must have misled him on many points. He⁷ even confuses James the son of Zebedee and the James of Acts 15, and asserts that Jesus did not die until the reign of Claudius (after 41 A. D.⁸). His account of Cerinthus, therefore, needs verification, especially when opposed by other ancient accounts.

He says:⁹ *Et Cerinthus autem quidam in Asia non a primo deo factum est mundum docuit, sed a virtute quadam valde separata et distante ab ea principalitate, quae est super universa et ignorante eum, qui est super omnia, deum. Jesum autem subiecit non ex virgine natum. Impossibile enim hoc ei visum est fuisse autem eum Joseph et Mariae filium, similiter ut reliqui omnes homines, et plus potuisse justitia et prudentia et sapientia ab omnibus, et post baptismum descendisse in eum ab ea principalitate, quae est super omnia, Christum figura columbae et tunc annunciasse incognitum Patrem et virtutes perfecisse: in fine autem revolasse iterum Christum de Jesu, et Jesum passum esse et resurrexisse, Christum autem impassibilem perseverasse, existentem spiritalem.*

According to Irenaeus, Cerinthus holds to the doctrine of the pleroma. The Creator is far below the highest God. Jesus is the son of the world creator, the human son also of Joseph and Mary. The pure Christ spirit descends upon Jesus at his baptism in the form of a dove, so he can announce the unknown Father and work miracles. But at the crucifixion Christ withdraws and Jesus suffers and rises from the dead. With this view of Cerinthus, both Epiphanius and Philastrius agree, getting their information, no doubt, from Hippolytus,¹⁰ their common source, who, in turn, had probably received this tradition by oral instruction from his teacher Irenaeus. The legend of a Gnostic Cerinthus seems to rest solely upon the ultimate questionable authority of Irenaeus, who went to Rome as a messenger of peace of the Gallic churches when Eleutherus ascended the bishop's throne, and there collected the material for his work on the heresies. Hippolytus adds that Cerinthus

⁶ 1906. S. 101—105.

⁷ *Adv. Haer.* III. 12 15.

⁸ *Ibid.* II. 22.

⁹ *Ibid.* I. 26 1.

¹⁰ *Philos.* X. 21. Compare with *Iren. Adv. Haer.* I. 21 6.

was educated in Egypt. Κήρωθος δέ τις καὶ αὐτὸς Αἰγυπτίων παιδείᾳ ἀσκηθεὶς. . . .¹¹

On the other hand, there is the tradition, better authenticated, that Cerinthus was a Judaizer. With this both Epiphanius and Philastrius agree. Philastrius says:¹² *docet autem circumcidi et sabbatizari. — hic sub apostolis quaestionem seditionis commovit dicens debere circumcidi homines.*¹³ Epiphanius¹⁴ states that Cerinthus was different from Carpocrates in this: ἐν τῷ προσέχειν τῷ ἰουδαϊσμῷ ἀπὸ μέρους. The Panarion then continues with a number of conflicting stories, in which the author draws partly from oral sources, and in part confuses the teachings of Cerinthus with those of others. For example, he says: φάσκει γὰρ (Cerinthus) τὸν τὸν νόμον δεδωκότα οὐκ ἀγαθόν, οὗ τῷ νόμῳ πείθεσθαι δοκεῖ, ὁ δὲ ὅτι ὡς ἀγαθῷ¹⁵ . . . οὗτος δὲ ἐστὶ, ἀγαπητοί, εἰς τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν ταραχὴν ἐργασαμένων ὅτε οἱ περὶ Ἰάκωβον γεφράφασιν εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπιστολήν¹⁶ . . . καὶ οὗτος εἰς ἐστὶ τῶν ἀντιστάντων τῷ ἁγίῳ Πέτρῳ, ἐπειδὴ εἰσῆλθε πρὸς Κορνῆλιον τὸν ἅγιον¹⁷ . . . διὰ γὰρ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐμπερίτομον, ὤφειεν ἀντιδικίας ἕνεκα τῶν ἐν ἀκροβυστία πιστῶν διὰ τῆς περιτομῆς τὴν πρόφασιν ἐθηράσατο¹⁸ . . . αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰργάσαντο ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ὁπνῆκα Παῦλος ἀνῆλθε μετὰ Τίτου καὶ ὡς οὗτος ἔφη ὅτι ἄνδρας ἀκροβύστους εἰσήνεγκε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ.¹⁹ See also Panarion XXVIII, 5—8 for further information about Cerinthus. The conjunction of Epiphanius, Pseudo-Tertullian and Philastrius on the Judaizing tendency of Cerinthus proves that this information is based upon their common source, Hippolytus. In this they have departed from Irenaeus. We have seen that wherein Hippolytus differs from Irenaeus, he is the more reliable of the two. His work is characterized by "more accurate researches", as he himself says, and as his works prove.²⁰ As the Grundschrift, therefore, of Epiphanius, Pseudo-Tertullian, and Philastrius,

¹¹ *Philos.* X. 21. See also VII. 3 and 33.

¹² *Haer.* 36.

¹³ Pseudo-Tertullian also says: *Cerintho non in omni parte consentiens . . . legem etiam proponit, scilicet ad excludendum evangelium et vindicandum Judaismum.* (De Praes. 48).

¹⁴ *Panarion, Haer.* XXVIII. 1 3.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 2 1.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 2 3.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 2 4.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 2 6.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 4 1.

²⁰ See above, p. 74.

he certainly emphasizes the Judaistic tendencies of Cerinthus. Although many of the stories told by Epiphanius are without foundation, they at least lend color to the view that Cerinthus was a Judaizer. Certainly his notions have an "intense Jewish background that neither philosophy nor Christianity could materially alter."²¹ He insisted upon circumcision and Sabbath observance.²¹ Lipsius²² thinks that Irenaeus, in his remarks on Cerinthus was influenced by later Gnostic beliefs, because Cerinthus agreed with the Gnostics on the natural birth of Jesus, and perhaps changed the original tradition as given by Hippolytus.

We are further told by Epiphanius that Cerinthus used "a mutilated form of Matthew's gospel for the sake of its genealogy, which proves the human descent of Jesus".²³ *χρῶνται γὰρ τῷ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγελίῳ — ἀπὸ μέρους καὶ οὐχὶ ὅλῳ ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν γενεαλογίαν τὴν ἑνσαρκον.*²⁴ They quoted Christ's example in obedience to the Law as the authority for demanding that Christians obey it. *καὶ ταύτην μαρτυρίαν φέρουσιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου πάλιν λέγοντες ὅτι «ἀρκετὸν τῷ μαθητῇ ἵνα*

²¹ Smith and Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, p. 449.

²² *Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanius*, S. 119.

²³ Bacon, *The Christ-Party in Corinth*, p. 412.

²⁴ *Panarion* XXVIII. 5 1. Also XXX. 3 7. According to Irenaeus (*Haer.* Bk. I. XXVI. 1) Cerinthus separated Jesus from the Christ. The divine Christ descended upon the human Jesus at the baptism, and deserted him at the crucifixion. Irenaeus also says that those again who separate Jesus from the Christ prefer the Gospel of Mark (*Haer.* Bk. III. XI. 7). This would seem to indicate that Cerinthus, Carpocrates, and others preferred Mark, because they thought it favored their adoptionist Christology. Irenaeus says the Ebionites did not differ from Cerinthus in their Christology (*Haer.* Bk. I. XXVI. 2), yet he states specifically that they preferred the gospel of Matthew, meaning, no doubt, the apocryphal Gospel according to the Hebrews. His statements here show confusion of thought. On the other hand, Epiphanius (*Panarion* XXX. 14 2, 3) claims that Cerinthus and Carpocrates used Matthew, in order to show, by the genealogy at the beginning, that the Christ is of the "seed of Joseph and Mary." We have also seen that Philastrius (*Haer.* XXXVI. "Evangelium secundum Matthaeum solum accipit. Tria Evangelia spernit.") is in conjunction with Epiphanius on this point, which shows that their authority is Hippolytus. Pseudo-Tertullian joins the above-mentioned

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γένηται ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος. « τί οὖν, φησί, περιτμήθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς, περιτμήθητι καὶ αὐτός. Χριστὸς κατὰ νόμον, φησίν, ἐπολιτεύσατο, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ἴσα ποιήσον.²⁵ They rejected Paul because he did not teach circumcision. τὸν δὲ Παῦλον ἀθετοῦσι διὰ τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι τῇ περιτομῇ.²⁶

Bacon says that this teaching is just the opposite of the Docetic Cerinthus of Irenaeus and Hippolytus. "Instead of minimizing with the Docetists the human and Jewish elements of our Lord's nature and teaching, it laid all stress upon these and violently opposed the Hellenistic tendencies which made Paul's gospel acceptable to the Greeks."²⁷

Additional support of this teaching as reported by Epiphanius is perhaps to be found in Origen's Commentary on Matthew 26 17. Origen spent some time in Caesarea, teaching bishops, and

writers, representing that Cerinthus used Matthew. Cerinthus quotes Matthew according to this author: *Cerintho . . . et quia scriptum sit: nemo discipulus super magistrum, nec servus super dominum.* (De Praes. 48).

A. Schmidtke thinks that Epiphanius is in error in his statement about Cerinthus' use of Matthew in a mutilated form. He believes that Epiphanius, who makes the Ebionites the spiritual descendants of Cerinthus, read back certain of their characteristics into the teachings of Cerinthus, the reputed teacher of the mythical Ebion. Origen, commenting on Matt. XX. 30 f., where the blind man called Jesus the son of David, says the rebuke by the multitude represents the protest of the Gentile Christians against the "impoverished" faith in Christ held by the Ebionite. ἵνα σωπῆσθαι τῷ ὀλομένῳ αὐτὸν ἐκ σπέρματος ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς εἶναι, κατὰγοντος τὸ γένος ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαυὶδ. (Origen, tom. XVI, 12 in Matt.) Schmidtke adds: „Aus dieser Stelle erschloß Epiphanius, daß die Ebionäer, also die Kerinthianer überhaupt, Jesu Geschlecht von David herleiteten, d. h. sich zur Begründung ihrer Christologie auf die Genealogie bei Matt. beriefen, die mit den Worten βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Δαυὶδ begann." Schmidtke holds that Epiphanius only by combining expressions from Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and Origen, was able to write the "remarkable sentence," "χρῶνται γὰρ τῷ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγελίῳ . . . διὰ τὴν γενεαλογίαν, κ. τ. λ.," and apply it to Cerinthus and his followers. (*Judenchristliche Evangelien*, S. 207—210).

That Schmidtke's criticism of Epiphanius is, in general, true, seems probable. It would seem also, in the light of his discussion, that the evidence for Cerinthus' use of Matthew in a mutilated form, rests upon a slender foundation.

²⁵ *Panarion* 5 1, 2. See also Pseudo-Tertullian (De Praes. 48).

²⁶ *Ibid.* 5 3.

²⁷ *The Christ-Party in Corinth*, p. 412.

was thus in position to study the Jewish-Christian questions of the day at first hand. Though Epiphanius may have received his report indirectly, it is none the less probably true. Full consideration will be given to Origen's testimony when we consider the successors of Cerinthus, the Ebionites.

In opposition to the tradition of the Gnostic Cerinthus, as recorded by Irenaeus, there is another account of this Jewish heretic, entirely independent of Epiphanius, Pseudo-Tertullian and Philastrius, and their sources. The author is the Roman presbyter, Gaius, and his words are preserved by Eusebius.²⁸ The Church historian says: κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους χρόνους ἐτέρας αἵρέσεως ἀρχηγὸν γενέσθαι Κήρινθον παρειλήφαμεν, Γαῖος, οὗ φωνὰς ἤδη πρότερον παρατέθειμαι, ἐν τῇ φερομένη αὐτοῦ ζητήσει ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ γράφει »ἀλλὰ καὶ Κήρινθος ὁ δι' ἀποκαλύψεων ὡς ὑπὸ ἀποστόλου μεγάλου γεγραμμένων τερατολογίας ἡμῖν ὡς δι' ἀγγέλων αὐτῷ δεδειγμένας ψευδόμενος ἐπεισάγει, λέγων μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐπίγειον εἶναι τὸ βασίλειον τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πάλιν ἐπιθυμίας καὶ ἡδοναῖς ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὴν σάρκα πολιτενομένην δουλεύειν. καὶ ἐχθρὸς ὑπάρχων ταῖς γραφαῖς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀριθμὸν χιλιονταετίας ἐν γάμφῳ ἐορτῆς, θέλων πλανᾶν, λέγει γίνεσθαι. «

According to Eusebius,²⁹ Gaius was disputing with Proclus, a Montanist teacher of Asia Minor, who was using the Revelation of John to bolster up his position. This was when Zephyrinus was bishop of Rome, 199—217 A. D. Gaius, in order to weaken the argument of his opponent, denied the apostolic authorship of the book of Revelation and assigned it to Cerinthus, who, he said, had forged the book in the name of the great apostle in defense of his own views. According to Gaius, there was a stigma attached to the work, because it had been written by a Jewish Christian, an opponent of the apostles.³⁰ Gaius assigned as the reason the gross realism of the one thousand years' reign and the new Jerusalem. Cerinthus had been a servant of lust and of the flesh, so he painted this future picture in a sensual way, and, in order to

²⁸ *H. E.* III. 28 1, 2.

²⁹ *H. E.* II. 25 ε. See also VI. 20 ε.

³⁰ Schwartz, *Johannes und Kerinthos*, S. 213—217.

seduce others, forged the name of the Apostle John. This chiliastic doctrine of Cerinthus is at opposite poles from the "spiritual views" of the Gnostics, and hence to the Gnostic delineation of Cerinthus as given by Irenaeus.³¹ It is for this reason that the realistic chiliasm had such an attraction for Papias, Irenaeus, and other strong opponents of the Gnostic doctrine, with the result that they found not at all offensive the most concrete painting of heavenly joy.³² We can no more harmonize Gaius' tradition than that of Epiphanius with Irenaeus I. 26, Hippolytus VII. 33, and Theodoret³³ 2, 3. To harmonize either would require violence.

The tradition of Gaius is followed by Dionysius of Alexandria. He says: Κήρινθον δέ, τὸν καὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου κληθεῖσαν Κήρινθιανὴν αἵρεσιν συστησάμενον, ἀξιόπιστον ἐπιφημίσαι θελήσαντα τῷ ἑαυτοῦ πλάσματι ὄνομα. τοῦτο γὰρ εἶναι τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ τὸ δόγμα, ἐπίγειον ἔσεσθαι τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλείαν. καὶ ὦν αὐτὸς ὠρέγετο, φιλοσώματος ὢν καὶ πάνυ σαρκικός.³⁴

We must conclude that Cerinthus was an Ebionite. He followed the most narrow possible literalistic interpretations of the Jewish Scriptures, in opposition to the most vague indefinite lawless mode of thought current among the Gnostics. He could not combine the two. The one denied the divinity of Jesus, the other his humanity. He was rightly placed in the heresy lists next to the Ebionites, both by Irenaeus and Hippolytus, and may be regarded as the champion of the Judaizers at the close of the first century.

³¹ Schwartz, *Johannes und Kerinthos*, S. 211.

³² Ibid. S. 212.

³³ *Haer. fab.* II. 1.

³⁴ Eusebius, *H. E.* III. 28 3-5.

CHAPTER XXI

THE EBIONITES.

In the heresy lists, the Ebionites are linked with Cerinthus. Their succession according to Irenaeus¹ agrees with that of Hippolytus. In doctrine, they agreed in many respects with Cerinthus.² Some claimed that the mythical Ebion was the disciple of Cerinthus.³ The followers of the latter seem not to have long maintained a separate organization but to have been absorbed by the body known as Ebionites. "Ebionism, taken generally, is the name given to certain tendencies of thought, which crystallized into sects within Judaeo-Christian circles, in the early history of Christianity."⁴ It could only arise in connection with Judaism, and on Jewish soil. The Law was extremely sacred. The Jews had made great sacrifices for it and clung to it with great tenacity. The introduction of Christianity into the Jewish circles caused a ferment resulting in a strong reaction. Ebionism was the Jewish reaction in the Christian Church and it developed into a revolt against the universality and simplicity of the Christian faith.⁵ The Ebionites had "moved out of strict Judaism" but not into the "Catholic faith" of primitive Christianity. They were Jews first; and Christians second, and only in so far as fellowship with the latter accorded with strict adherence to the Law. There may have been various degrees of intensity with which the Ebionites adhered to this principle; but all followed both Moses and Christ, the latter being only a second Moses. All exalted Moses and depreciated Christ. They could not possibly

¹ I. 25, 1—26 2.

² Irenaeus I. 26. Hippolytus VII. 21 a.

³ Epiph. Pan. XXX. 1.

⁴ Beveridge, Ebionism, in *Encyc. Religion and Ethics*, p. 139.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 139.

become a part of the catholic church, so they drifted outside the Christian circles, and were finally stranded during the fifth century.

The origin of the name of this sect is of interest. The first appearance of the term Ebionites is found in Irenaeus:⁶ *Qui autem dicuntur Ebionaei consentiunt quidem mundum a deo factum ea autem quae sunt erga dominum, similiter ut Cerinthus et Carpocrates opinantur.* Some claimed as their founder their chief teacher, Ebion, whose name his followers assumed. The first mention of such a person is found in Hippolytus.⁷ In this he is followed by Epiphanius,⁸ Philastrius,⁹ Pseudo-Tertullian,¹⁰ and Tertullian himself.¹¹ "While the tradition seems to be strong, all evidence appears to rest upon the sole testimony of Hippolytus, and that without foundation."¹² The later writers followed him "without much critical judgment."¹³ The most satisfactory explanation is found in the meaning of the Hebrew word עֲבִיּוֹנִים. The Ebionites are the "poor". The Christian fathers called them "poor" in intellect, in faith, and in Christology. Origen wrote:¹⁴ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδῆς τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων πιστευόντων εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν τὴν περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος πίστιν, ὅτε μὲν ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ οἰομένων αὐτὸν εἶναι, ὅτε δὲ ἐκ Μαρίας μὲν μόνῃς καὶ τοῦ θείου πνεύματος, οὐ μὴν καὶ μετὰ τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ θεολογίας, ὅψει, πῶς οὗτος ὁ τυφλὸς λέγει τὸ Υἱὸς Δαβίδ, ἐλέησον (Mk. X. 47) ᾧ ἐπιτιμῶσιν οἱ πολλοί· πολλοὶ γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἱερικῶς ἐκπορευόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἐπιτιμῶντες τῇ πτωχείᾳ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πιστεύειν δοκούντων. Again we find in Origen:¹⁵ τῷ Ἐβριωναίῳ καὶ πτωχεύοντι περὶ τὴν εἰς Ἰησοῦν πίστιν. But this cannot have been the real origin of the name. Very probably it was first given by non-Christian Jews to their brethren who became Christians, because the latter were usually poor.

⁶ *Adv. Haer.* I. 26 2.

⁷ See his list of heresies, above, Part III, Ch. XVII.

⁸ *Panarion* XXX. 2 1, 3 1 et sq.

⁹ *Adv. Haer.* 37.

¹⁰ *Haer.* 48.

¹¹ *Adv. Haer.* III, 33, *De Carne Christi, De Virg.* vel. 6.

¹² See above, Part III, Ch. XVI. In defence of "Ebion" see Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergeschichte*, S. 423.

¹³ Beveridge, *Ebionism*, p. 139.

¹⁴ In Matt. Tome XVI. 12 (Opp. III. 733).

¹⁵ See also *C. Celsum* II. 1, *de Princip.* IV. 22. In Matt. I. XVI. 12.

The name אֶבְיוֹנִים met the conditions of the primitive Church as the "Poor."¹⁶ The name of contempt was afterward adopted by the more bigoted and narrow element and became their pride and glory. Finally, the name lost its true significance, and was applied to all Judaizing Christians. Some¹⁷ applied it loosely to Jewish Christians in general. While we find the first mention of the name in Irenaeus, it certainly did not originate with him. Ebionite heretics who denied the virgin birth of Jesus were unknown before the time of the Emperor Hadrian, yet concerning any other kind of Ebionites, Irenaeus says not a word.¹⁸

The history of the Ebionites begins with the introduction of Christianity into the Jewish Church. The relationship of Jewish Christians to the Law was at first undisturbed. Most of them held to it tenaciously. Among these were James and the "myriads"¹⁹ of believing Jews. In fact, the question of observance of the Law seems not to have been raised until the conversion of Gentiles forced the issue. Paul wrung from the church at Jerusalem in his great victory the concession of freedom for the Gentile converts.²⁰ The spiritual leaders of the Church approved the pact, but the masses, at heart, were opposed. Thus two distinct tendencies arose among the Jewish Christians. We have seen how the extreme element sent their emissaries to Antioch, and effected a breach in the Church there; how they dogged Paul's steps to the Galatian churches; and finally how "false apostles" followed the Apostle to the Gentiles even to Corinth in a desperate attempt to fasten the yoke of the Law upon the Gentile Christians.²¹ After the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, 70 A. D., the Jewish-Christian Church was reorganized at Pella. It was a changed Church. The temple was in ruins. The Mosaic ritual had been dealt a staggering blow. Jews no longer dominated. The Gentiles were supreme in the government of Palestine. Some think that Essene elements entered into the Church at this

¹⁶ Gal. 2 10.

¹⁷ Origen, Eusebius.

¹⁸ Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergeschichte*, S. 422.

¹⁹ Acts 21 20.

²⁰ Gal. 2 1-10.

²¹ See above, Parts I and II.

time. Finally the Jews came back to Jerusalem. Eleazer the high priest and Bar Cochba led in another and final desperate struggle against the Romans, with the result that the Emperor Hadrian, in 132, drove all the Jews from the city and stopped all sacrifices. In 138 Aelia Capitolina was founded upon the ruins of Jerusalem. The old Judaism had yielded to Jewish Christianity in the new colony. Then the latter yielded to a united Jewish-Gentile Christian Church, with a Gentile for bishop. Jewish Christianity was a thing of the past, so far as the catholic Church was concerned.²² Those who persisted in their Judaistic tendency formed the nucleus of a new church at Bostra. They drifted farther and farther away from the fellowship of others, until they became strong heretics, extremely hostile to the catholic Church.

The tenets of the Ebionites have already been referred to in connection with other questions. The Church fathers²³ give full information, and are in substantial agreement. In their Christology, the Ebionites, at least Cerinthus, taught that Jesus was the human son of Joseph and Mary; that he was more righteous, prudent, and wise than other men; that Jesus was not the Christ until his baptism, when the dove-like form descended from the Supreme Ruler upon him. After that event Jesus as Christ proclaimed the unknown Father, and performed miracles. Finally, the Christ departed from him as a being that was impassible, inasmuch as the Christ nature was purely spiritual. Then the human Jesus, apart from the Christ, suffered death by crucifixion, and rose from the dead.²⁴ According to Epiphanius,²⁵ speaking of their use of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, (a non-canonical Greek Gospel²⁶) they changed the text and added to the voice of God at the baptism these words: ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε. "This day have

²² Beveridge, *Ebionism*, p. 140.

²³ The chief sources are Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* I. 26, III. 15, V. 3. Hippolytus, *Haer.* VII. 22. X. 18. Epiphanius, *Panarion* XXX. Eusebius, *H. E.* III. 27. Pseudo-Tertullian, *de Praescr.* XLVIII. Theodoret, *Haer. Fab.* II.

²⁴ Irenaeus I. 26. Hippolytus VII. 21.

²⁵ *Panarion* XXX. 13. See also Justin, *Trypho*, c. XLIX.

²⁶ See Part III. Ch. 17. p. 87.

I begotten thee." Hippolytus²⁷ says the Ebionites taught that the reason for the exaltation of Jesus was his complete observance of the Law of Moses. διὸ καὶ Χριστὸν αὐτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ὠνομάσθαι, καὶ Ἰησοῦν, ἐπεὶ μηδεὶς τῶν (ἄλλων) ἐτέλεσε τὸν νόμον· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἕτερός τις πεποιῇκε τὰ ἐν νόμῳ προστεταγμένα, ἦν ἂν ἐκεῖνος ὁ Χριστός. δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἑαυτοῖς ὁμοίως ποιήσαντες Χριστοὺς γενέσθαι. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸν ὁμοίως ἄνθρωπον εἶναι πᾶσι λέγουσι.

The Ebionites taught that the Law of Moses is binding upon all men. They used Jesus as the example for all Christians. Even as his great exaltation was due to complete obedience to the Law, so any Christian could be likewise exalted by doing as Jesus did. ἔθεσιν ἰουδαϊκοῖς ζῶσι, κατὰ νόμον φάσκοντες δικαιούσθαι, καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγοντες δειδικαιῶσθαι ποιήσαντα τὸν νόμον.²⁸ Irenaeus²⁹ gives his testimony to their rigorous observance of the Law. Epiphanius has much to say about the Ebionites. He begins with the mythical Ebion, a πολύμορφον τεράστιον καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν τῆς μυθευομένης πολυκεφάλου ὕδρας ὀφιδώδη μορφήν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀντιτυπωσάμενος³⁰ . . . Σαμαρειτῶν μὲν γὰρ ἔχει τὸ βδελυρόν, Ἰουδαίων δὲ τὸ ὄνομα, . . . Κηρινθιανῶν τὸ εἶδος καὶ Χριστιανῶν βούλεται ἔχειν τὸ ἐπώνυμον μόνον. Ebion taught τὸ παρατηρεῖσθαι ἀπτεσθαί τινος τῶν ἀλλοεθνῶν, καθ' ἐκάστην δὲ ἡμέραν, εἴ ποτε γυναικὶ συναφθῇ καὶ ἢ ἀπ' αὐτῆς, βαπτίζεσθαι ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι, εἶπον δ' ἂν εὐποροίῃ ἢ θαλάσσης ἢ ἄλλων ὑδάτων.³² "Ebion" differed from the other heretics only in this: ἐν τῷ τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ προσανέχειν κατὰ σαββατισμὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν περιτομὴν καὶ κατὰ πάντα ὅσαπερ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις καὶ Σαμαρείταις ἐπιτελεῖται.³³

The followers of "Ebion" were, of course, like minded. They were strict in their adherence to the Law of Moses, both in principle and in practice. Epiphanius reports their obedience to Law, and notes that they used Jesus as their example in this. Αὐχοῦσι δὲ πάλιν περιτομὴν ἔχοντες καὶ σεμνύνονται δῆθεν ταύτην εἶναι σφραγίδα καὶ χαρακτῆρα τῶν τε πατριαρχῶν καὶ δικαίων τῶν κατὰ τὸν νόμον πεπολιτευμένων δι'

²⁷ VII. 22.²⁸ Hippolytus VII. 22.²⁹ *Adv. Haer.* I. 26.³⁰ *Panarion* XXX. 1 1.³¹ *Ibid.* XXX. 1 2-4.³² *Ibid.* XXX. 2 3, 4.³³ *Ibid.* XXX. 2 2.

ἥς ἐξισοῦσθαι ἐκείνοις νομίζουσι καὶ δῆτα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν σύστασιν ταύτης βούλονται φέρειν, ὥς καὶ οἱ περὶ Κήρινθον. φασὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ τὸν ἐκείνων ληρώδη λόγον »ἀρκετὸν τῷ μαθητῇ εἶναι ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος«. περιτμήθη, φησὶν, ὁ Χριστός, καὶ σὺ περιτμήθητι.³⁴ This, of course, is based upon Hippolytus.³⁵

The Ebionites used only the Gospel of Matthew³⁶ in Hebrew (Pseudo-Matthew in Greek). Epiphanius³⁷ says they used other books such as *περίοδοις καλουμέναις Πέτρου ταῖς διὰ Κλήμεντος γραφεύσαις*. Also *πράξεις δὲ ἄλλας* of the apostles;³⁸ also *Αναβαθμούς*... *Ἰακώβου*.³⁸

They were bitterly opposed to Paul, and rejected all his letters. They did not hesitate to slander him, and spread malicious falsehoods in order to discredit him. They reported that he was a Greek; that he lived in Jerusalem for a time; that he desired in marriage the daughter of the high priest, and, in the interest of his suit, submitted to circumcision, as a proselyte. Failing in his plans to marry the Jewess, he, in anger, wrote against the law, circumcision, and the Sabbath.³⁹ This special information is supposed to have been borrowed by Epiphanius from a Romance of Clement.⁴⁰ Irenaeus⁴¹ and Origen⁴² also tell the rejection of Paul by the Ebionites. They did not regard him as an apostle of Christ, and were bitterly opposed to his mission to the Gentiles. The Ebionitic literature, Clementine Homilies, and Recognitions, are, in part, very hostile to Paul. In Rec. Bk. II, Paul is maligned under the name of Simon Magus. In Bk. VII he is the "*homo inimicus*" who causes the murder of James, scatters 5000 Christians, and hastens to Damascus with letters from the high priest.⁴³ Homily XVII⁴⁴ is throughout anti-Pauline. It condemns him

³⁴ *Panarion* XXX. 26 12.

³⁵ VII. 22. Quoted above, p. 151.

³⁶ Eusebius, *H. E.* III. 27, III. 25 5. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* I. 26 2. Origen, *In Joh.* Tom. II. 12. For discussion on this, see above, Part III. Ch. XVII, p. 87.

³⁷ *Panarion* XXX. 15 1.

³⁸ *Ibid.* XXX. 16 6, 7.

³⁹ *Ibid.* XXX. 16 9.

⁴⁰ Schmidtke, *Neue Fragmente und Untersuchungen zu den Judenchristlichen Evangelien*, S. 196.

⁴¹ *Adv. Haer.* I. 26.

⁴² *C. Celsum*, V. 65.

⁴³ Waitz, *Die Pseudoklementinen, Homilien und Rekognitionen*. S. 77 ff.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* S. 138—140.

for his visions and revelations, his too brief vision of the Lord, and rebukes him for not working with Peter at Antioch. He is advised to become a student of the apostles.⁴⁵ Aquila says:⁴⁶ *Quid ergo delinquunt homines, si malignus transformans se in splendorem lucis, maiora repromittit hominibus, quam ipse deus?* This would seem to be a thrust at 2 Cor. 11 14. In many places⁴⁷ Paul is maligned in the name of Simon Magus.

The Ebionites had great reverence for Jerusalem. When they prayed, they looked toward the holy city. They hoped for the restoration of the temple, and the glory of the reign of a thousand years.⁴⁸

They were intensely Jewish in worship, and in all of their customs of life. They developed, therefore, necessarily, into a perverted form of Christianity. So deeply was Ebionism rooted in the subsoil of Mosaic institutions that the new plant was unable⁴⁹ to appropriate the expanding elements of the new stratum imposed by a universalized Christianity, with the result that it broke with all progress. Its survival was an impossibility. Finding that their cherished Messianic hopes were fading, the Ebionites, denying the divinity of Jesus, turned for new light to the Gnostics, who denied his humanity. The syncretism was unnatural and impossible. The sect continued until the fifth century, then dissapeared gradually. The tides of Christianity swept past it, and left it stranded. Ebionism became either "bitter Judaism, or truculent heathenism."⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Homily XVII. 13—19. See also Rec. II. 61 ff.

⁴⁶ Rec. II. 18.

⁴⁷ See also Rec. III. 75. I. 66—71.

⁴⁸ Jerome, *in Jes.* XVIII. c. LXVI. 20. Iren. I. 26.

⁴⁹ Beveridge, *Ebionism*, p. 141.

⁵⁰ Ibid. p. 145.

CHAPTER XXII

THE NAZARENES.

WE next consider the more moderate sect of Jewish Christians described by Justin Martyr. In stating their custom to keep the Law of Moses while at the same time believing on Christ, he adds:¹ Ἄλλ' ἐὰν αὐτοὶ . . . αἰρῶνται συζῆν τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς καὶ πιστοῖς ὡς προείπον, μὴ πείθοντες αὐτοὺς περιτέμνεσθαι ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς μήτε σαββατίζειν μήτε ἄλλα ὅσα τοιαῦτά ἐστι τηρεῖν, καὶ προλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ κοινωνεῖν ἀπάντων, ὡς ὁμοσπλάγχχοις καὶ ἀδελφοῖς δεῖν ἀποφαίνομαι. This statement of Justin's is evidence that 100 years after Paul rebuked the factions in the church at Corinth, the group that had for its party cry,² Ἐγὼ δὲ Κηφᾶ, was still in existence. This was the group of Jewish Christians, who, while observing the Law of Moses themselves, did not require the Gentile Christians to do the same, nor were they hostile to the Apostle Paul and his work. Justin gives this tolerant party no name. It is probable that the open breach between the two groups had not yet come.

The heresy of the tolerant group was slight. They were in agreement with the Jewish Christians who joined the catholic Church, except that they clung tenaciously to the Law of Moses while offering fellowship to the uncircumcised Gentile Christians, and while they accepted the divinity of Christ, their Christology was not as fully developed as was that of the catholic Church. Dorner³ thinks they did not hold to a

¹ Ch. XLVII. 2—4.

² 1 Cor. 1 12.

³ Person of Christ, I. 1, 193.

pre-existent hypostasis of the Divine in Christ. Lightfoot⁴ thinks that the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs belongs to this circle, and reflects their views.

Jerome⁵ taught that the Nazarenes held the view that the *omnis fons Spiritus* descended upon Jesus at his baptism. He wrote much about them, but was greatly confused⁶ on some points, especially in regard to the Hebrew gospel they were supposed to have used.

Irenaeus discussed the Ebionites, but failed to mention the tolerant branch as a distinct heresy. Origen⁷ described the two branches, but gave the name Ebionites to both. One branch denied the virgin birth of Jesus, while the other accepted it. He erred in that he represented both as hostile to Paul. This was due to the confusion brought about by calling both sects Ebionites. Eusebius⁸ followed Origen here and failed to preserve any independent information about Christianity.⁹

Epiphanius introduced the Nazarenes into his list of heresies between Cerinthus and the Ebionites. He is the first Church father to give distinct names to the two branches of Jewish Christians. He got much of his information from current report, and it is in part, unhistorical. He says:¹⁰ *Ναζωραῖοι καθεξῆς τούτοις (Cerinthians) ἔπονται, ἅμα τε αὐτοῖς ὄντες ἢ καὶ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἢ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἢ μετ' αὐτούς, ὅμως σύγχρονοι οὐ γὰρ ἀκριβέστερον δύναμαι ἐξείπειν τίνες τίνας διεδέξαντο. καθὰ γὰρ ἔφην, σύγχρονοι ἦσαν ἀλλήλοις καὶ ὅμοια ἀλλήλοις κέκτηνται τὰ φρονήματα. οὗτοι γὰρ ἑαυτοῖς ὄνομα ἐπέθεντο οὐχὶ Χριστοῦ οὔτε αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἀλλὰ Ναζωραίων. πάντες δὲ Χριστιανοὶ Ναζωραῖοι τότε ὡσαύτως ἐκαλοῦντο. γέγονε δὲ ἐπ' ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ καλεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ Ἰεσσαίους, πρὶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἀρχὴν λάβωσιν οἱ μαθηταὶ καλεῖσθαι Χριστιανοί.*

⁴ Galatians, p. 319 ff.

⁵ *In Isai*, IV. xi. 1.

⁶ See above, Part III, Ch. 17. p. 87.

⁷ *C. Celsum*, V. 61, 62.

⁸ *H. E.* III. 27.

⁹ For discussion of the Jewish-Christian sects by Origen and Eusebius, see above, Part III. Ch. 18.

¹⁰ *Panarion* XXIX. 1-4.

Schmidtke¹¹ holds there was no connection between the Nazarenes and the primitive Church at Jerusalem, save in the imagination of Epiphanius. Epiphanius adds that shortly after the ascension of the Savior, after Mark had preached in Egypt, *τινὲς ἐξεληλύθασιν πάλιν, τῶν ἀποστόλων δῆθεν ἀκόλουθοι, λέγω δὲ οἱ ἐνταῦθά μοι δηλούμενοι Ναζωραῖοι, ὄντες μὲν κατὰ τὸ γένος Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ τῷ νόμῳ προσανέχοντες καὶ περιτομῇ κεκτημένοι.*¹² There can be no question about the adherence of the Nazarenes to the ceremonial Law of Moses. *χρῶνται δὲ οὗτοι οὐ μόνον νέα διαθήκη, ἀλλὰ καὶ παλαιᾷ διαθήκῃ καθάπερ καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι.*¹³ Our author states that they were well trained in the Hebrew language.¹⁴ This is a common error. Syriac or Aramaic was their language, and Hebrew was limited to their scholars, who knew it as an inheritance from former Jews who had settled in Syria. These scholars were the source of Apollinarius,¹⁵ a Greek who knew Hebrew, from whom, probably, Epiphanius derived the nucleus of the information he has so badly confused. He did not even profess to know whether the Nazarenes, along with "Cerinthus and Merinthus", held Jesus to be a mere man, or *διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου γεγεννησθαι ἐκ Μαρίας.*¹⁶ He placed their origin east of the Jordan, in Peraea.¹⁷ They were bitterly hated by the Jews, who, in their synagogues, cursed them, morning, noon, and evening, saying, *ἐπικαταράσαι ὁ θεὸς τοὺς Ναζωραῖους.*¹⁸ Our author added as his last thought, *ἔχουσι δὲ τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον πληρέστατον Ἑβραϊστί.*¹⁹ Confessedly his information was not first hand. He had never seen this "Hebrew gospel". He knew not whether it contained the genealogy of Jesus or not.²⁰ This was not the gospel according

¹¹ *Neue Fragmente und Untersuchungen zu den Judenchristlichen Evangelien*, S. 124.

¹² *Panarion* XXIX. 5 4.

¹³ *Ibid.* XXIX. 7 2.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* XXIX. 7 4. *Ἑβραϊκῇ δὲ διαλέκτῳ ἀκριβῶς εἰσιν ἡσκημένοι.*

¹⁵ Schmidtke, *Neue Fragmente und Untersuchungen zu den Judenchristlichen Evangelien*, S. 124.

¹⁶ *Panarion* XXIX. 7 6.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* XXIX. 7 8. Hilgenfeld follows Epiphanius here, *Judenthum und Judenchristenthum*, S. 111.

¹⁸ *Panarion* XXIX. 9 2.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* XXIX. 9 4.

²⁰ *Ibid.* XXIX. 9 4.

to the Hebrews,²¹ a non-canonical and heretical book used by the Ebionites, but a targum of our Greek Matthew, based upon the canonical book.

The Nazarene church became great, locally, at Beroea, in Cele Syria. It sprang from the Jewish-Christian Church at Antioch, in which were also many Gentiles. The Nazarenes did not compel the Gentile Christians to be circumcised and keep the Law of Moses. They kept the Law themselves, since they were compelled to act as a unit to preserve their national customs, but did not regard such as a condition of salvation.²²

Jerome was inaccurate in his treatment of the Ebionites, but had, by virtue of his sojourn in Syria, exceptional opportunities to study the Nazarenes. He is the first to tell us that they accepted the virgin birth of Jesus, which the Ebionites denied. They also acknowledged Paul as the apostle to the Gentiles, and were not opposed to him or his work.²³ This makes them, in most respects, identical with the "orthodox" class of Ebionites described by Origen and Eusebius.²⁴

The Nazarene church represented well the tolerant element in the Jewish-Christian Church, in contrast with the Ebionites, who represented the intolerant group. The former used the canon of the catholic Church. The Nazarenes grew up under the roof and teaching of the great universal organization led by the twelve apostles and Paul, and always regarded themselves as a part of the great world-movement of Christianity.²⁵ They were not aggressively missionary, remained more at home, and finally disappeared through the weakness of age.²⁶

²¹ This question was discussed in Part III, Ch. 18.

²² Schmidtke, *Neue Fragmente und Untersuchungen zu den Judenchristlichen Evangelien*, S. 124.

²³ *Com. ad. Isai.* IX. 1 by Jerome.

²⁴ See above, Part III, Ch. 18.

²⁵ Schmidtke, *Neue Fragmente und Untersuchungen zu den Judenchristlichen Evangelien*, S. 124.

²⁶ Hilgenfeld, *Judenthum und Judenchristenthum*, S. 122.

PART V

THE JUDAIZING FACTION AT CORINTH IDENTIFIED IN POST-APOSTOLIC CHRISTIANITY.

CHAPTER XXIII.

In Part II, Chapters VII and VIII, we dealt with the factions of the Corinthian church, as seen in 1 and 2 Corinthians. The two Gentile factions, whose watchwords were 'Εγὼ μὲν εἰμι Παύλου, 'Εγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλώ,¹ seem to have been less prominent at the time Paul wrote 2 Corinthians. The faction with the watchword 'Εγὼ δὲ Κηφᾶ, being a peaceable group, like the Apostle whose name they wore, does not appear except in the first epistle, and then not in a hostile attitude. Evidently the faction was at most only a tendency, which never seriously disturbed the peace of the church.

The case with the group whose party cry was 'Εγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ was different. In the first epistle, there seems to have been no open rupture between them and Paul. In the second letter the widened breach is manifest, and the distinctive characteristics of the faction are evident. We have here, in process of development, the party that continued to cause trouble in the Church during the second century, and later on broke off all fellowship with the catholic Church, having become its bitter opponent.

During Paul's day, the movement was in its incipency, yet it showed abundant vigor. From the very outset it promulgated its principles with all the energy of fanaticism.

Let us review briefly the chief characteristics of the Christ party at Corinth, in order to trace more clearly its progressive development in the ever expanding Christian community.

¹ 1 Cor. 1 12.

1. They were Jews, and evidently boasted of their nationality. Paul, in order to meet their proud claims, declared: 'Εβραῖοί εἰσιν; καὶ γώ. Ἰσραηλεῖται εἰσιν; καὶ γώ. σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ εἰσιν; καὶ γώ.²

2. They originated in Palestine. Such a movement could hardly spring up spontaneously among Hellenistic Jews, whose sympathies had been, to a certain extent, broadened by their association with the Gentile Christians. Those at Corinth had come from abroad.³ Paul speaks of them in the third person, as though they were no resident part of the church. There is no positive information as to their Palestinian origin, but all inferences seem to justify the assumption. "Their superior airs all point to the mother Church at Jerusalem." It is known that Palestine did send forth just such emissaries; it is doubtful whether such were ever sent forth by churches outside of Palestine.

3. The group at Corinth were exclusive. Tracing the effects of their work back to Galatia,⁴ and to Antioch, their policy involved the arranging of an inner circle for themselves and the exclusion of all others. They even claimed the authority of Christ's example for their practices. Paul, on answer to their exclusive appropriation of Christ's prerogative, exclaimed,⁵ εἴ τις πέποιθεν ἐαντῷ Χριστοῦ εἶναι, τοῦτο λογιζέσθω πάλιν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι καθὼς αὐτὸς Χριστοῦ, οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς.⁶ He also taught: μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε, καθὼς καὶ γώ Χριστοῦ.⁷

4. They were opponents of Paul. They worked from the very beginning zealously against his free Gospel. He was denounced as a traitor to his own people and their Law. From Jerusalem to Antioch, from Antioch to Galatia, and from Galatia to Corinth, they dogged his footsteps, attempted to subvert his work, and challenged his apostleship.⁸

5. They were Judaizers. δῖάκονοι δικαιοσύνης⁹ was their claim. Their interpretation of "righteousness" could mean only the Law. Their purpose was to "enslave" the Corinthian

² 2 Cor. 11 22.

³ Ibid. 10 10; 11 4.

⁴ Gal. 2.

⁵ 2 Cor. 10 7.

⁶ See also 1 Cor. 1 12, 18; 3 22, 23.

⁷ Ibid. 11 1.

⁸ 2 Cor. 11 5, 23 ff.

⁹ Ibid. 11 15.

Christians. *καταδουλώ*¹⁰ is the word used, and Paul uses it nowhere else, except in discussing the attempt of the Judaizers to "enslave" the Galatian¹¹ Christians to the ceremonial Law of circumcision, Sabbath observance, etc., practiced by the Jews. The third chapter of 2 Corinthians "is a strong anti-Jewish apologetic."

6. Their watchword was 'Εγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ.¹² Other factions might boast of watchwords in which they appealed to the example of great Christian leaders as their authority. One faction claimed to imitate the example of Paul in his gospel of freedom for Gentiles from the Law. The party members cried 'Εγὼ μὲν εἰμι Παύλου. Following the example of the Apostle they did not practice the ordinance of circumcision, nor did they follow the pure food laws of the Jews. Another faction had for its party cry 'Εγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλώ. They were imitators of the practice of Apollos. Still another faction had for its watchword 'Εγὼ δὲ Κηφᾶ, signifying that they were imitators of the practice of Peter in his attitude toward the Law.¹³ But the Judaizing faction, more pretentious than all the others, boasted of nothing less than the example of Christ, himself, as the special authority of their party. With them, Christ was foremost as the faithful adherent of the Law. He was circumcised, and followed the customs and precepts of the Jewish ritual. Therefore, 'Εγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ as a party watchword, meant imitators of the practice of Jesus in faithful observance of the Law.

7. But it was not the spiritual Christ whom they lifted up as their standard. No. It was Christ in the flesh; Christ only as the adherent of the Law. Paul in meeting their boast declared.¹⁴ Ὡστε ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐδένα οἶδαμεν κατὰ σάρκα. εἰ καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν κατὰ σάρκα Χριστόν, ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐκέτι γινώσκομεν.

Judged by the standard of the letter of the Law, it was difficult to answer the arguments of the Judaizers, or to oppose their claim that they were the true followers of Christ,

¹⁰ 2 Cor. 11 20.

¹¹ Gal. 2 4.

¹² 1 Cor. 1 12.

¹³ For further discussion of this topic, see Chapter IX, Part 2, "The Leaders of the Factions".

¹⁴ 2 Cor. 5 16.

imitators of him, in observing the Law. They were doing just as Jesus did. To meet their argument Paul lifted his Gospel above the limitations of the Law and the flesh, and made it a religion of the Spirit. He once wrote:¹⁵ Ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐστὲ ἐν σαρκὶ ἀλλὰ ἐν πνεύματι, εἴπερ πνεῦμα θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν. εἰ δέ τις πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔχει, οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ. He, too, claimed to be a true follower of Christ, not in the flesh, but in the spirit; not in the slavery of the Law, but in the liberty of the gospel. He therefore exhorted the Corinthian Christians to follow his example: μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε, καθὼς καὶ γὰρ Χριστοῦ.¹⁶

The faction whose party cry was Ἐγὼ δὲ Κηφᾶ and the faction whose watchword was Ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ, the one tolerant, the other intolerant, lived on in the Church elsewhere for several centuries. Referring again to the writings of Justin Martyr, we learn that in his day the two groups existed.¹⁷ Both observed the Law, one as a national custom, and not as a requirement for Gentiles; the other kept the Law as a religious necessity, and made its observance a condition of fellowship for Gentile Christians.

It is easy to trace the course of the Petrine faction. The Nazarenes were their spiritual descendants. They observed the Law, but not as essential to their proper relations with God, nor as a requirement for the Gentiles. They approved of Paul's mission to the Gentiles, and did not reject his letters. They applied Isai. 29 7ff. much as in Mk. VII against the distinctions of Mosaic ritual purity.¹⁸

Can we identify the intolerant faction, the "Christ party," in the subsequent development of Christianity? This can certainly be done. The faction lived on in the spirit of Cerinthus, and still later in the heresy known as Ebionism:

1. Like the Christ party at Corinth, Cerinthus and the Ebionites were Jews. They were champions of the Law, observers of its ceremonial decrees. Cerinthus had "an intense Jewish background that neither philosophy nor Christianity

¹⁵ Romans 8 9.

¹⁶ 1 Cor. 11 1.

¹⁷ *Dialogue with Trypho*, Ch. 47.

¹⁸ Cf. Jerome on Isai. His source is Apollinarius.

could alter."¹⁹ By the ancient writers, Irenaeus and Hippolytus, as well as by the later writers, he was placed in the group of Jewish Christians.¹⁹ The Ebionites represented the most intense Jews²⁰ among those who accepted Christianity. They had no fellowship with the Gentiles. Their literature, represented in later times by the Clementine writings, has a decided Jewish background.

2. Again, like their predecessors, the Judaism of these Ebionites was Palestinian, rather than Hellenistic. It is probably true that Cerinthus received much of his education in Egypt. Hippolytus says: *Κήρυθος δέ τις καὶ αὐτὸς Αἰγυπτίων παιδείᾳ ἀσκηθείς*. Cerinthus seems to have been an exception among Jews who had studied abroad. His whole spirit and religious view point were Palestinian. The Ebionites could only arise in connection with Judaism and on Jewish soil.²² They had a higher regard for the Law, and clung to it more tenaciously than did their brethren of the Diaspora. After the movement centered at Bostra they still looked toward Jerusalem when they prayed, and hoped for the restoration of the temple.²³

3. Like the group at Corinth, the Ebionites were exclusive. They finally broke away from the catholic Church, lost all touch with the universal Christian movement, and refused fellowship to all outside their closed circle. They presented a case of "arrested development" caused both by their unwillingness to be influenced by outside movements, and by their inability to appropriate the new thought of an expanding world.

4. The Ebionites continued the opposition of the Corinthian Christ party to the Apostle Paul. The last four chapters of 2 Corinthians tell of the bitterness of feeling on the part of the Christ faction against him and his work. That opposition continued, unchecked, for the centuries to come. Paul was hated as much by the Ebionites of the fourth and fifth centuries

¹⁹ See above, Part IV, Ch. 20.

²⁰ See Part IV, Ch. 21.

²¹ Part X, Ch. 21.

²² Beveridge, *Ebionism*, in *Encyc. Religion and Ethics*, p. 139.

²³ Jerome, in *Isai.* XVIII. c. LXVI. 20. Iren. I. 26.

as he was by his opponents of the first. Philastrius and Epiphanius, drawing from their common Grundschrift, Hippolytus, both testify that Cerinthus and his followers opposed the Apostle. Philastrius says:²⁴ *Apostolum Paulum beatum non accipit, Judam traditorem honorat beatos martyres* (Peter and Paul) *blasphemat. Hic sub apostolis beatis quaestionem seditionis commovit, dicens debere circumcidi homines*. Epiphanius says:²⁵ τὸν δὲ Παῦλον ἀθετοῦσι διὰ τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι τῇ περιτομῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκβάλλουσιν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ εἰρηκέναι »ὅσοι ἐν νόμῳ δικαιοῦσθε, τῆς χάριτος ἐξεπέσατε«, καὶ ὅτι »ἐὰν περιτέμνεσθε, Χριστὸς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ὠφελήσει«.

The later Ebionites were just as unrelenting in their opposition to Paul. Irenaeus tells us this.²⁶ He says: *apostolum Paulum recusant, apostatem eum legis dicentes*. Epiphanius tells²⁷ us how they slandered Paul and spread malicious stories about him. Epiphanius seems to have obtained his information from their own literature, the Romance of Clement. Origen²⁸ is equally emphatic on this point. They refused to recognize Paul as an apostle, and opposed his work.

5. The Ebionites, like the faction at Corinth, were Judaizers. They were followers of Moses first, and of Christ second. They accepted the Gospel, only in so far as it did not interfere with the Law. Jewish Christians must observe it, and no Gentile Christian could be saved without it. We have seen that Cerinthus was an Ebionite.²⁹ Philastrius says:³⁰ *docet autem circumcidi et sabbatizari*. Epiphanius says that he differed from Carpocrates ἐν τῷ προσέχειν τῷ ἰουδαϊσμῷ μέρους. Pseudo-Tertullian³¹ says: *legem etiam proponit, scilicet ad excludendum evangelium et vindicandum Judaismum*. This conjunction of these three writers leads us back, as we have seen, to Hippolytus.³² The tradition of Gaius³³ strengthens this view, by opposing the statement of Irenaeus that Cerinthus

²⁴ *Haer.* 36.²⁵ *Pan.* XXVIII. c. 5.²⁶ *Adv. Haer.* I. 26 a.²⁷ XXX. 16 a. See above, Part IV, Ch. 21.²⁸ *C. Celsum*, V. 65.²⁹ See above, Part IV, Ch. 20.³⁰ *Haer.* 36.³¹ *De Praes.* 48.³² See Part III, Ch. 17.³³ Eusebius, *H. E.* III. 28 1, a.

was a Gnostic. Concerning the later Ebionites Hippolytus says:³⁴ ἔθουσιν ἰουδαϊκοῖς ζῶσι. Epiphanius adds³⁵ that they differ from other heretics ἐν τῷ τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ προσανέχων κατὰ σαββατισμὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν περιτομὴν. The Ebionites boasted about circumcision, making it the seal of the righteous who walk according to the Law.³⁶ They were the most intensely Jewish of all Jewish Christians, and offered fellowship to none save those who, even though they were Gentile Christians, were circumcised, and walked according to the Law.

6. The watchword, Ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ, used at Corinth, was not forgotten by the Ebionites. The followers of Cerinthus appealed to the example of Christ' as their authority saying,³⁷ »ἄρκετὸν τῷ μαθητῇ ἵνα γένηται ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος«. They invoked the name of Christ as their watchword.³⁸ The later Ebionites appealed to Christ in justification of their course. καὶ δῆτα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν σύστασιν ταύτης βούλονται φέρειν, ὡς καὶ οἱ περὶ Κήρυθον.³⁹ Epiphanius also says that they quoted the same words from Matthew in defence of their position as did the Cerinthians, that the disciple is to be as his master.

7. Finally, carrying out the policy of the Corinthian faction, they appealed to Christ as their example, not as the spiritual Christ, but as an adherent of the Law of Moses. With both, Christ was a minister of circumcision. The followers of Cerinthus referred to Christ's observance of the Law as their authority for insisting that Gentiles observe it. τί οὖν, φησί, περιτμήθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς, περιτμήθητι καὶ αὐτός. Χριστὸς κατὰ νόμον, φησί, ἐπολιτεύσατο, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ἴσα ποιήσων.⁴⁰ Hippolytus said concerning the Ebionites:⁴¹ διὸ καὶ Χριστὸν αὐτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ὠνομάσθαι, καὶ Ἰησοῦν, ἐπεὶ μηδεὶς τῶν (ἄλλων) ἐτέλεσε τὸν νόμον. Also the same author reported:⁴² κατὰ νόμον φάσκοντες δικαιοῦσθαι, καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγοντες δεδικαιῶσθαι ποιήσαντα τὸν

³⁴ VII. 22. ³⁵ *Panarion* XXX. 2 2. Written concerning "Ebion."

³⁶ *Panarion* XXX. 26 1, 2.

³⁷ Epiphanius, *Panarion*, XXVIII. 5 1. See also Philastrius, Part III, Ch. XVII, p. 85, and Pseudo-Tertullian, *De Praes.* 48.

³⁸ *Ibid.* XXVIII. 5 1, 2. See also Hippolytus VII. 22 for Ebionites.

³⁹ *Ibid.* XXX. 26 1, 2. ⁴⁰ *Ibid.* XXVIII. 5 1, 2. ⁴¹ VII. 22.

νόμον. Epiphanius repeated about the Ebionites what he said about Cerinthus, to the effect that they invoked, like the Cerinthians, the example of Christ in circumcision.⁴² Then we have the testimony of Origen, based, as is that of Epiphanius, upon Hippolytus. Origen wrote:⁴³ *secundum haec forsitan aliquis imperitorum requireret cadens in Ebionismum ex eo quod Jesus celebravit more Judaico pascha corporaliter, sicut et primam diem azimorum et pascha dicens, quia convenit et nos imitatores Christi similiter facere.* Here the Ebionites invoked Jesus' example for the day of keeping the feast. And Origen based this information upon no less an authority than Hippolytus, who said:⁴⁴ λέγει (the Quarto-deciman adversary) γὰρ οὕτως ἐποίησε τὸ πάσχα ὁ Χριστὸς τότε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἔπαθεν· διὸ καμὲ δεῖ ὃν τρόπον ὁ Κύριος ἐποίησεν, οὕτω ποιεῖν.

We have, therefore, Christ as the watchword of the Judaizing sect at Corinth, as also of the Ebionites of a later date, to be imitated as the minister of circumcision, the model in obedience to the Law. To all of whom the words of Paul are directed: *μιμηταὶ μου γίνεσθε, καθὼς καὶ γὰρ Χριστοῦ.*⁴⁵

⁴² *Panarion*, XXX. 26 1, 2.

⁴³ *In Comm. Matt. Opera.* Vol. IV. Lomatzsch, p. 406.

⁴⁴ Bunsen, *Hippolytus and his Age*, Vol. I, p. 109. *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 12. sq. ed. Dind. Photius Cod. 121. Extract in Charteris' *Canonicity*, p. 194.

⁴⁵ 1 Cor. 11 1.

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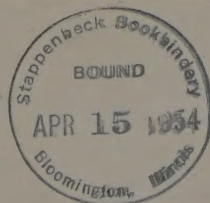
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